



Engendering the rock art archaeology of the north Eastern Cape, South Africa
Ritual specialists, novices, and social conditioning

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that '**Engendering the rock art archaeology of the north Eastern Cape, South Africa: ritual specialists, novices, and social conditioning**' is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis/dissertation to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

Signed this 20th day of January 2020.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dawn Green', written over a horizontal line.

Dawn Green

ABSTRACT

Rock art affords unique opportunities for engendered research because it provides emic views of how specific people re-presented themselves. My feminist study investigates under-researched 'San/Bushman' gendered identities to understand more about area-specific constructions of personhood through analysing 2852 rock paintings from two adjacent areas of the northern Eastern Cape, South Africa. Using quantitative and qualitative methods and evidence from excavation archaeology, ethnography, ethology, and neurocognitive research, I identify three categories of ritual specialists: experienced and preeminent; ordinary; and novice. These paintings show that wo/men ritual specialists could transcend the identity norms of ordinary people, but men ritual specialists may have had more status and power. I suggest the paintings acted as a controlling mechanism for the potency of women, indoctrination of novices, and present an ideal for the practice of ritual specialists and ordinary people. This research has important implications for identifying different types of identity marking by different groups of southern African San.

Key terms:

Agency, Archaeology, Bushman, Feminism, Gender, Identity, Personhood, Power, Rock Art, San, South Africa, Status.

KAKARETSO

Bonono ba majwe bo fana ka menyetla e ikgethang bakeng sa dipatlisiso tse fokolang hobane e fana ka ditjhebo tsa bonnete tsa hore na batho ba itseng ba ne ba itliahisa jwang. Boithuto ba ka ba tsa bosadi bo fuputsa boitsebiso ba batho ba maSan/Busumane bo so kang bo batlisiswa haholo ele ho utlwisisa haholwanyane ka dikaho tsa dibaka tse ikgethileng tsa botho ka ho manolla metako ya pente e 2852 e tswang dibakeng tse pedi tse bapileng tsa borwa ho Kapa Botjhabela, Afrika Borwa. Ka tshebediso ya mekgwa ya bongata le boleng le bopaki ho tswa ho dipatlisiso tsa excavation archaeology, ethnography, ethology, le tsa neurocognitive, ke hlwaya mekgahlelo e meraro ya ditsebi tsa mekete ya meetlo: ba nang boiphihlelo le ba hlahelletseng ka mahetla; ba tlwaelehileng; le bomaithutwana. Metako ena ya pente e bontsha hore ditsebi tsa basadi tsa mekete ya meetlo di ne di kgona ho tlola ditlwaelo tsa boitsebiso tsa batho ba tlwaelehileng, empa ditsebi tsa banna tsa mekete ya meetlo di ka di ne le di na le maemo le matla a fetang. Ke sisinya hore metako e ne e sebetsa jwalo ka mokgwa wa ho laola bakeng sa matla a basadi, thuto ya bomaithutwane, le ho hlahisa se lokelang ho ba sona bakeng sa tshebetso ya ditsebi tsa meetlo le batho ba tlwaelehileng. Patlisiso ena e na le bohlokwa bakeng sa ho hlwaya mefuta e fapaneng ya matshwao ba boitsebiso a dihlopha tse fapaneng tsa maSan a Afrika e borwa.

Mantswe a bohlokwa:

Ejensi, Archaeology, Busumane, Thuto ya tsa bosadi (Feminism), Bong, Boitsebiso, Botho, Matla, Metako ya Majwe, San, Afrika Borwa, Boemo.

ISISHWANKATHELO

Imizobo esematyeni inika amathuba akhethekileyo ophando lweemeko ezingqonge isini ngoba le mizobo ibonisa indlela abaziveza ngayo abantu abathile ngokwenkcubeko yabo. Isifundo sam ngobufazi siphanda ngohlanga lwama 'San/Bushman' okanye Amaqhakancu/abaThwa nekuphandwe kancinci ngabo, injongo ikukuqonda ubume bobuntu babo kwiindawo ngeendawo. Olu phando lwenziwe ngokuhlalutya imizobo esematyeni engama-2852 ekwiingingqi ezimbini eziseMntla-Mpuma Koloni, eMzantsi Afrika. Ngokusebenzisa uphando olusekelwe kubungqina bamanani nobusekelwe kwiingxoxo nokuzathuza kwanobungqina obuvezwe zizinto ezigronjwe/ezigrunjwe kwiziza zakudaladala, obuvezwe kwiinkcazelo zenkcubeko yabantu abahlukeneyo, obuvezwe kwiinkcazelo zoluntu xa lujongwe ngokwenkalo yendalo (i-itholoji) nobuvezwe kwizifundo zokuqiqa nokusebenza kwengqondo, ndiphawule iindidi ezintathu zeengcali zezithethe: abanamava nolwazi olubalaseleyo; abanolwazi oluqhelekileyo; abangenalwazi kangako. Le mizobo ibonisa ukuba iingcali zezithethe zamadoda nezabafazi zinakho ukubona ngaphaya kwendlela ababona ngayo abantu jikelele, kodwa kusengenzeka ukuba iingcali zezithethe zamadoda zazinewonga negunya elithe chatha. Ndibona ukuba imizobo yayisebenza njengesixhobo sokulawula amandla neziphiwo zabafazi, ukuqweqwedisa iingcinga zabangenalwazi luthe vetshe, nokuvelisa okulindelekileyo kwindlela yokusebenza kweengcali zezithethe nabantu jikelele. Olu phando lubalulekile ekunakaneni iindidi ezahlukeneyo zokuphawula ubuyena bamaqela ahlukeneyo ohlanga lwamaSan/ Amaqhakancu aseAfrika.

Amagama aphambili:

Igunya, Inzululwazi yezinto zakudala ezigrunjiweyo, AbaThwa, Ubufazi, Isini, Ubuwena, Ubuntu, Amandla, Imizobo Esematyeni, Ama-San/Amaqhakancu, uMzantsi Afrika, lwonga.

DEDICATION

For my parents, Errol Watters and Katharine Wyche.

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Chapter 1

Approaching personhood in San rock paintings

We should not be content to limit ourselves to those instances where material formations appear familiar because they merely conform to our preconceived categories and concepts. On the contrary, we should attend to those aspects that are difficult to explain, where our reactions jar or mystify, when our categories and metaphors fail us.

Baines & Brophy 2006: 74

THE PROBLEM

I live in the high Drakensberg of the northern Eastern Cape outside of Barkly East (Figs. 1 & 2). My love affair with archaeology began with my exploration of these mountains. In the hundreds of sandstone overhangs I have re-discovered many rock paintings. Most of these paintings are argued to have been painted by San¹ who lived in this area. I began to read articles and books to learn more about this body of art and the people who made it. Most of this material was authored by David Lewis-Williams and his students, who based much of their research in this area, and their interpretations struck a chord – the fine-line paintings of this area are related to ritual specialists and their experiences of altered states of consciousness – the so-called shamanistic and neurocognitive interpretation (see Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011: 55 – 93 for a review). One of the problems with this blanket explanation is it has almost made a caricature of the San as people dancing and trancing, sharing and caring, across this, and many other, landscapes (also Fabian 1983). Who were they really?

Rock art is an unusually informative and informed artefact – one of the few that gives an emic view of how people re/presented themselves. While we may not know all the reasons for the representations, the human body, in strict and expanded forms – such as part human, part other animal ‘therianthropes’ – is something that is closely tied to identity². Thus, San rock paintings appear to give us a unique opportunity to consider the productions and manipulations of identity and personhood, whether they be individual or collective, by examining representations of the human body, and the animal form. Gender and sex may be core to these identities.

¹ I choose to use ‘San’ instead of ‘Bushman’ and use this term with respect (Barnard 1992: 7-11).

² Identity, notions of personhood, and gender are performed, contingent, and contextual. See p.9.



Figure 1: Google map showing location of research areas (Image Landsat/Copernicus Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO US Department of State Geographer, ©2019 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd).

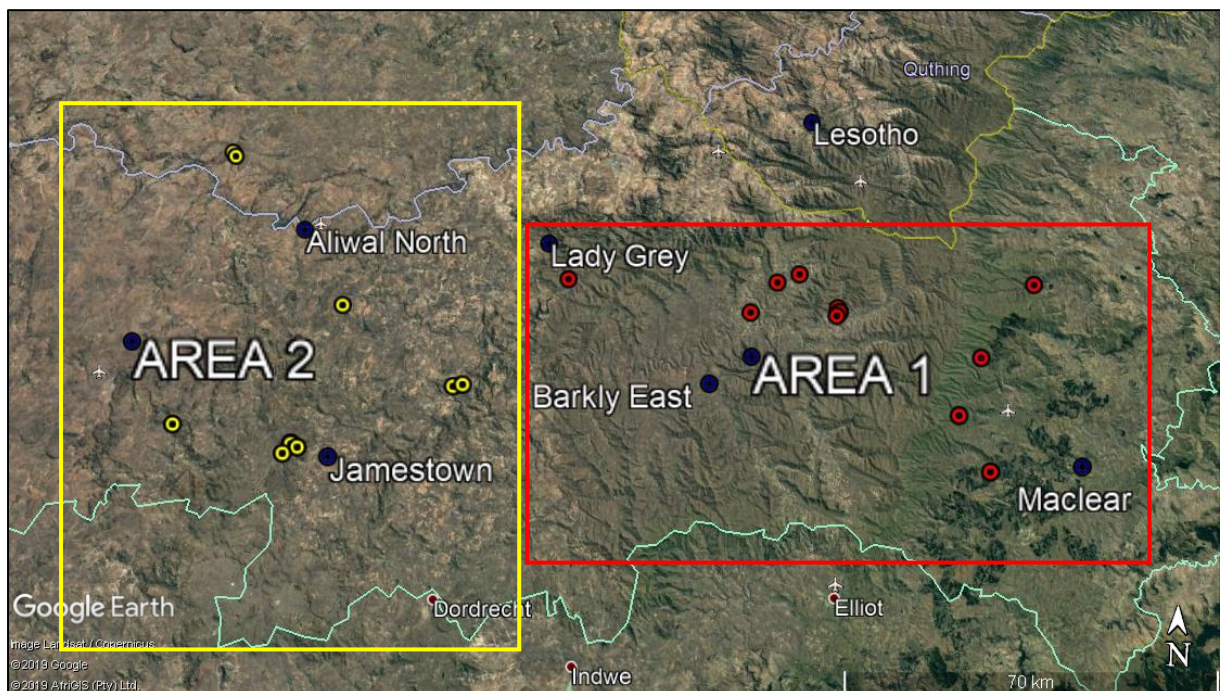


Figure 2: Google map with site locations in Area 1 red, and site locations in Area 2 yellow (Image Landsat/Copernicus ©2019 Google, ©2019 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd).

My research aims to identify, examine, and give content to key issues of personhood, especially the under-examined gendered aspects of identity that exist in San paintings, and ethnography. My primary aim is to test to what extent an analysis of gender within a 'shamanistic' context can give us a fuller, more nuanced understanding of the specific individual and collective identities of San painting in the research areas selected for this dissertation (Fig. 2). I focus on identifying San paintings of male and female humans, and to a lesser extent, male and female animals, in what is today the northern Eastern Cape, to understand more about how painters constructed personhood and how these constructions may have been used and re-used by their makers and consumers. I challenge the mystical shroud that veils our understandings of the rock paintings and by extension, our understandings of the specific wo/men in specific areas that they portray.

I do so by using a quantitative and a qualitative method (see Bernard 2006; Whitley 2011) in recording, analysing, and contrasting 2852 rock paintings from 21 sites found in two adjacent areas in the northern Eastern Cape; 11 from the high Drakensberg (Barkly East, Maclear: Area 1) and 10 from the lower-lying surrounding areas (Aliwal North, Jamestown: Area 2; Figs. 2 & 3). Dating southern African rock art is still a work in progress. I did not directly date any of the sites, but recently 22 samples were dated in Maclear (Bonneau *et al* 2017), which forms part of research Area 1. These paintings date from between 2998 cal BP – present, indicating the sites I examine are multitemporal and extend into the 'contact' period where San and other African groups were living in the same areas (Dowson 1988; Loubser & Laurens 1994; Jolly 1996b; Ouzman 2005; Challis 2008). Evidence from surface and excavation archaeology, historical accounts, ethnography, ethology, and neurocognitive research provide a context to, and evidence for, my interpretation of the categories in the rock paintings that I recorded, with a focus on gender.

Research has shown that gender relationships are implicated, on some level, in every sphere of human interaction (Conkey & Gero 1991; Hays-Gilpin 2004: 7). As Margaret Conkey and Joan Gero state in Archaeology's first book on gender (1991: 10):

*Gender illustrates ways in which particular roles and relationships are socially constructed – especially for archaeologists – in relation to the productive and material world. Where the production and manipulation of the material realm **can** be associated – conceptually or otherwise – with women (or men), we may then most easily (given present methodologies) be able to observe the productive roles and contributions of women, make inferences about the division of labour, observe how the material objects participate in constituting social identities, and social meanings, and explore how the social category of, for example, “female” may have been constructed and played out in past social systems.*



Figure 3: 'San' rock paintings from Area 1 BOP1³(top) and Area 2 LEL4, (bottom; Scale 1:5) indicating average scale of paintings.

³ Sites are deidentified to protect them; details are available on the SARADA and SAHRIS database.

However, despite some significant contributions which I discuss in the next chapter, gender approaches in southern African archaeology are rare, often separate from mainstream themes or investigations, and many questions remain (Stevenson 1995: xiii; Olivier 2004: v). Primary among these is why artists made the choices they did in sexing humans and animals. There also appears to be an unfortunate opposition between gendered understandings of San rock art and shamanistic understandings of the same art largely due to the vitriolic and unproductive ‘debate’ that occurred between Anne Solomon (1999, 2000, 2006a&b, 2007) and David Lewis-Williams (1998, 1999, 2006, 2007). Judith Stevenson (1995) had previously exposed this false opposition – both are fundamental structuring principles of San groups – and produced many important insights from her feminist study but, much of her research remains unpublished and unacknowledged.

This opposition may also be the resultant effect of past theoretical approaches to archaeology, such as Functionalism, Marxism, and Structuralism, where researchers constructed and relied on binary understandings which separated “*subject from object and mind from matter*” (Hodder 2012: 15; see Blundell 2004: 53-76, for a description of how some of these theories have been used in San rock art research). Thus, male was invariably associated with concepts of: hot, strong, fire, hunter, and shaman, and female with: cold, weak, water, meat, and clapper – the ‘male’ is as simplistically articulated as the ‘female’. Joan Gero (2007) cautions against such reductions of the complexity of our data in attempting to explain it, and we need to consciously question whether the gender assumptions of the present are not colouring the past (Moen 2019). In approaching my gendered study of San rock paintings, I take inspiration from Judith Stevenson, and present my research in the following structure.

In this chapter, I describe my research aims and reasons for doing so. I define the terms I use and why I use them. The physical environment of the research areas is described, and the people known to have lived in or moved through these areas. The most recently acquired dates from the rock paintings in Area 1 are also presented, with a brief description of the paintings of the research areas. Last, I explore a few of the issues I respond to and grapple with, in this research process.

Chapter 2 describes my theoretical approach to this study which is based on Standpoint feminist theory. I also include an explanation of how I have abstracted and used Ian Hodder’s (2012) ideas about entanglement. The second half of the chapter is devoted to examining a selection of previous engendered research on San rock art and the learning I apply.

I describe my methodology and quantitative and qualitative methods in Chapter 3, as well as the limitations of this method. Chapter 4 is dedicated to presenting my results. I begin with my quantitative results and describe and illustrate the categories I chose for identifying gender and sex in the paintings presenting the results for humans. I also include the depicted actions of human figures as well as what they are carrying or wearing and their painted contexts. I turn to my qualitative analysis to describe the dominant painted associations of humans between research areas. I focus primarily on the ethnography of the /Xam (Bleek & Lloyd Collection) and Mountain San (Orpen 1874), as well as that from the Kalahari San regarding the experiences described by ritual specialists (Marshall 1976; Lee 1979; Shostak 1981; Katz 1982; Katz *et al* 1997; Marshall Thomas 2006). I use these understandings and further ethnographic support to explain the patterning in paintings of men and women, but am mindful of the problematics of ethnographic analogy, especially as articulated in the Kalahari Revisionist Debate (Wilmsen *et al* 1990; Kent 2002).

I test and develop these explanations further in a detailed analysis of two sites, one from each research area, which confirms the patterning in the paintings of the research areas depict predominantly men, but also women ritual specialists and their control and regulation of supernatural potency, control and regulation of game animals, illness, and rain, with gender, age, status, and expertise, essential in their identities. Stories about the power of ritual specialists. A central aspect of control is the community following customary procedures, listening to the ritual specialists, so that balance and some semblance of harmony is achieved. This conclusion suggests the paintings played a primarily social role in the lives of the people of the research areas.

In my final chapter, I explore the different gendered imprints between Areas 1 and 2 and suggest reasons for these differences. I show differences in paintings from the central Drakensberg which suggest that gender identities may have evolved and been valued differently in different areas. Additionally, I emphasise the three significant findings of my research:

- gendered identities were complex, contested, and contingent;
- the possible identification of paintings of individual wo/man ritual specialists;
- the possible identification of a youth category.

The rock paintings are authored and ideological which give insights into individual and collective agency (see Hodder 2012: 215-216; also Lewis-Williams 1982; Dowson 1994). I end the chapter by presenting the implications of this study.

My research has exposed the fruitful results obtained from regional comparisons that show differences in the way people thought and acted (Laue 2016, 2017). Investigating communal and idiosyncratic paintings may also give further insight into power relations and how these relationships were negotiated. Critically, my research shows that engendered investigations have great potential to add to specific understandings of the past and can illicit further information on agency, variation, and diversity. I now focus on some definitions.

Defining gender, sex, and sexuality

The ontological and epistemological status of gender, sex, and sexuality are complex (Voss 2005). We now know that previous assumptions that sex was something determined at birth by your genitalia, and that gender was the socially constructed interpretation of this sex, are wrong (Harraway 1988; Butler 1990, 1993; Conkey & Gero 1991, 1997; Dowson 2001; Voss 2008; Geller 2009; Ghisleni *et al* 2016; Moen 2019). Rosemary Joyce aptly poses the question (2000: 6): “*What if gender is not simply the particularly contextualised socially valued construal of the body one is born with?*” Today, understandings of gender and sex are performative, contingent, socially situated, and unfixed (Butler 1993). Sexuality and sexual choices are no different. Having a penis does not make you male, man, masculine, or heterosexual, although, they are available options within a spectrum of such options. Furthermore, understandings of these terms change according to time, place, social context, and the person or group of people you are with. You can be male, female, a mixture, none of these, or something else entirely, indefinably non-gendered. Your physical attributes do not determine your sex, gender, and how you feel – your maleness, sense of maleness, or lack thereof. Your penis does not make you male or man, it just makes you a body with a penis. Additionally, your sexuality and sexual choices are fluid and can change multiple times over a lifetime (Voss 2005). This complexity is emphasised by Saray Ayala and Nadya Vasilyeva (2015: 727):

Traditional sex classification assumes biological dimorphism. But sex-relevant traits are not packaged neatly in two clusters. Each sex marker can take a spectrum of values. “[T]here are at least six markers of sex—including chromosomes, gonads, hormones, secondary sex characteristics, external genitalia, and internal genitalia—and none of these are binary” (Karkazis et al. 2012, 6). This produces a range of individuals, each exhibiting a unique combination of sex-relevant features. The amount of individual variability is often underestimated because social practices actively mask deviations from the paradigmatic, idealized cases (by waxing, wearing specific clothes, and more radically, by surgical interventions on ambiguous genitalia). A lot of work goes into maintaining the appearance of absolute sexual dimorphism, despite all the evidence to the contrary.

It is the people around you, your environment, your social network and associated ideologies that determine what sex and gender is or should be. Additionally, Saray Ayala and Nadya Vasilyeva highlight how people assume a certain set of traits for male or female and then act on these assumptions (2015: 729). Some authors (Horswell 2003; Lugones 2007) suggest we should make use of the term 'third gender', not because there necessarily is a third gender, but in using this term, we recognise that sex and gender are created and not based on binary understandings of male and female (also Voss 2005).

This awareness that both gender and sex are contingently constructed and that we have, and further, enact, gendered assumptions, are important when reconstructing gendered identities of the past. Feminists' exposure of androcentric practice is an example of the danger of gendered assumptions (Conkey & Gero 1991). Previous excavation research has privileged male hunting and with it, faunal remains (Wadley *et al* 2020). What about botanical remains – is there an absence or merely not the focus or interest in areas which are traditionally thought of as female – or women's work? Do we bring equal amounts of attention to men and women's hunting? (Kent 1999). This also has important ramifications for our methods and techniques because it may hamper the focused attention on developing other technologies to establish the presence of absence, or just presence.

Furthermore, Maria Lugones argues that our binary understandings of gender are a colonial and modern construct and were and are used to oppress people, especially colonised women (2007, 2010; also Crenshaw 1989; Atanga 2013). Our interpretations of sex and gender may not reflect those that existed in the past, where, for example, certain groups were gynocratic, homosexuality recognised positively, and sodomy an accepted practice including ritualised sodomy (Lugones 2007). Gender, sex, and sexuality are not consistent, they are not static; they vary and change from person to person, moment to moment, and are embedded in a specific context which includes age, status, class, ethnicity, and race – they are intersectional (Crenshaw 1989; Conkey & Gero 1991; Gero & Scattolin 2002: 160). We need to:

explore how we can de-contain our categories and practices from the exclusionary assumptions that bind inquiry toward recognizing only certain kinds of persons, ways of being different, or processes of knowledge production (Ghisleni et al 2016: 767).

In recognition of these issues, I interpret sex and gender as meaning the same thing – both are ideologically constructed. I reject ‘female’ as an acceptable term for adult women because of its reductive, objectifying connotations. I describe adult females as ‘women’ and recognise the oppressive way in which women have been and are treated; the way in which they have been disappeared from the archaeological and historical record, and especially ‘women of colour’ (Crenshaw 1989; Oyéwùmi 2003; Lugones 2007, 2010). I use ‘girl’ when referring to young women and reject the negative connotations this word has acquired in South Africa. I use ‘man’/‘boy’ similarly and will demonstrate what these gendered terms mean to the people in question. I also recognise that these terms have associations with states of initiation and rites of passage which I do not necessarily imply.

I reject *steatopygous* as an acceptable term to refer to the large buttocks and thighs some women had because of Victorian attitudes to women’s bodies: the way women were recorded and dissected with quasi-scientific justification, especially women considered ‘primitive’ (for example see Viestad 2018: 6-15). Instead, I respectfully use ‘large buttocks’. I especially emphasise the respect I have and apply in focusing on paintings of people’s body parts, and stress that this in no way is meant to diminish the people I study.

Gender studies are not only about women (Russell 2005; Moen 2019) and I do not privilege any gender but consider all in my investigation – including ones unknown to us but which may have been valent in San and other societies in the region my study is based. I also recognise the possibility that gender may not have played a significant role (Voss 2005: 66) in San identity constructions and rock art production (Lewis-Williams 1998).

A central element of San rock art which is not debated is that the artists were selective. Artists selected how and what they painted about people and animals. It is very important to identify whether there are patterns in the choices that were made. By so doing, we can begin to understand more of what was happening in specific areas and make comparisons with other areas, with the identification of ‘areas’ loosely defined and the necessary cognisance of the wide networks of exchange people were involved in (Laue 2016, 2017; see Mazel 2009). This awareness of patterning, whether it be dominant or rare, shows that what is presented is a chosen element of focus (Lewis-Williams 1982: 430), or subset, for specific people in specific areas and is indicative of the desire to ‘fix’ some kind of message that, in this case, relates to human identity. I interpret identity and personhood like understandings of gender – they are constructed, unfixed, fluid, complex, relational, and contextual (Brück 2005; Casella & Fowler 2005; Robb & Harris 2018). That

artists have chosen to depict specific aspects of their identity/ies is significant. Artists also chose to depict breasts, large buttocks, and penises and sometimes they did not. In each case the choice is meaningful. Explaining patterning has the potential to give more information about how specific people were thinking through specific things in the past which can speak to individual and collective agencies (see Hodder 2012: 215-216).

More definitions

Archaeology by its nature categorises (Trigger 2006; Wylie 2017). We identify types, sequences, categories, traditions and so forth, which we then label according to a dominant feature/s for ease of reference, such as Howiesons Poort (Deacon & Deacon 1999), Bambata (Huffman 1994), Shamanism (Eliade 1978), Late White (Smith & Ouzman 2004), bi-facial point (Deacon & Deacon 1999). Most of these labels are etic, more so the further back in time we go, and many are colonial constructs (Gilmour 2006: 13). For people with no written tradition and who employ other literacies, oralities, performativities, we cannot know they would choose nor identify with a specific label. Additionally, we also do not want to essentialise a specific feature or people as none are static nor unchanging (Smith & Ouzman 2004: 514; Green 2012). Our labels should not be applied unthinkingly because of the impact and effect they can have on present-day people, politically, spiritually, and socio-economically.

In describing the people of the research areas, I use the general or corporate terms 'San', 'Khoekhoen', 'Sotho', 'Nguni', etc and specific terms when these are known from historical records such as 'amaTola', 'Phuthi', 'Koranna', etc (Ellenberger 1912; Maingard 1932; Barnard 1992; Hammond-Tooke 1993). I use all terms with respect and recognise that the people in question may not use these terms to describe themselves. We need to move away from studies that reify ethnic categories (Wylie 2015: 197), thus, I use the identifier 'San' loosely. Lara Mallen has suggested we describe rock arts by the techniques used – such as fine-line – and not by the supposed ethnic identity because she argues at times there is *“a proliferation of multiple cultural identities that may be used and discarded at will”* (Mallen 2008: 133). I also recognise that people are not neatly partitioned categories and the past is far more 'messy' (Cassella & Fowler 2005) and complex than is often presented. The idea of humans being neatly bounded and contained in what they produce, whether things or ideas, is not supported (e.g., Pargeter *et al* 2018).

My study is affected by Alan Barnard (2007) and others (Kent 2002; Moran 2009; Glyn 2013; Deacon & Skotnes 2014; Chennells 2014) who have highlighted the way in which San have been presented as avatars of general primitiveness (the ignoble savage) or the ultimate forager indigenes (the noble savage). In my attempt to be relevant I would like to highlight the complex humanness of the San without creating a caricature of a people of the past. The lasting impression I wish to impart is the variability, complexity, and humanity of the people here. I am aware that this desire stems from a certain standpoint and is not neutral.

I reject the use of 'shaman' and use 'ritual specialist' instead because it recognises the many types of rituals women and men undertook as skilled activities in the past, whereas shaman appears to focus on the experiences of manipulating altered states of consciousness. I speak of 'altered states of consciousness' to describe the many ethnographically recorded instances of trance-like experiences and have retained the use of the trance dance to describe the central dance recorded in southern and northern San (L. V. 10: 4744-4750, 4755-4757; L. V. 22: 5755-5775; Orpen 1874; Silberbauer 1965: 97-102; Marshall 1976: 179,364; Lee 1979: 18, 272, 365; Shostak 1981: 291-303; Katz 1982; Bieseke 1993; Katz *et al* 1997; Guenther 1999: 180-198; Marshall Thomas 2006: 270-276; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2012: 699-701). I believe this is apt because both ritual specialists and their communities can experience altered states of consciousness during the dance and other events which speak to individual and corporate identities. It also recognises that many dances are held solely to practice or release supernatural potency, and not necessarily to undertake some function, such as healing (Shostak 1981: 297; Marshall 1999: 65; also Katz 1982: 120).

I reject the use of 'shamanism' as a blanket interpretation of San rock paintings because it reduces our understandings of people and rock art to a single causal agent/mechanism; obscuring time, place, and people-specific formations. It appears to be a matter of focus – many researchers have focused on establishing and exploring shamanism as an interpretation of San rock art, whereas I consider rock art itself as having agency; it is active and affective and remains so (Dowson 1994, 1998, Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; see Chapters 2 & 5). Additionally, people use rock art not just to reflect key aspects of their society, but also to think through and negotiate those aspects with themselves and rock art audiences/consumers (see Chapter 5). I now describe where it all happened.

THE PLACE

The Drakensberg mountains of the northern Eastern Cape consist of the Karoo Supergroup of sandstones, capped by the basalt from lava flows 183 million years ago (Area 1; Norman & Whitfield 2006: 290). The high mountains flatten out from the Drakensberg and are replaced by koppies and gorges of the Karoo Supergroup and Stormberg Group Sandstones around Aliwal North, Jamestown, and Burgersdorp (Area 2; Mucina & Rutherford 2006: 366; Fig. 4).



Figure 4: The landscapes of Area 1 (top; photograph Simon Sephton) and Area 2 (bottom) where the rock art occurs in the sandstone foothills and layers of these mountains.

The biome of these areas is predominantly described as Grassland (Mucina & Rutherford 2006: 360, 365, 366, 369, 371, 378, 389, 391). The Grassland biome is further subdivided according to the variety of microclimates and plants that are found in these summer rainfall areas (Appendix A). To illustrate this complexity further, in one valley of the Barkly East area there is a difference of 20% in rainfall in a 5 km radius over the past 97 years (Pitlochrie, Beddgelert, Scafell Rainfall Records); and similar variability could have occurred in the past. In this summer rainfall area, the closer you are to the high mountains, the more rain is measured due to orographic lift. Orographic mists, however, are mostly found on the escarpment (Maclear and Barkly Pass) side of the Drakensberg. Snow is common in winter in the high Drakensberg and frosts can be experienced just about all year round in both areas. In winter, temperatures can change dramatically, such as five degrees over a few hundred metres. Additionally, soil types can differ in a very short space. Within 5 km soils change from the basalt high PH to sandstone low PH. The former supporting the sweet veld (*Themeda triandra*) and the latter sour (*Eragrostis sp.*). Slope aspect also plays a role with the south-facing slopes having more water retention and being less likely to be overgrazed. All these factors play a role in the diversity of plants, trees, and associated animals that are supported which are similar to those in the past, and show the potentials for humans to live sustainably in one area (Mucina & Rutherford 2006).

From research undertaken by Madelon Tusenius (1989) we assume that conditions were cooler 3000 years ago to what they are today. Her study analysed the charcoal remains found in three shelters of the northern Eastern Cape, two in the Barkly East area, and one below the mountain near Elliot. Based on the taxa represented, *Leucosidea* and *Cliffortia sp.*, she argues that the drier conditions of the mid-Holocene were replaced by wetter, colder conditions in the late Holocene. Similar species of plants are found in these areas today and like in the past, these plants are more dominant than *Euryops sp.* which are dominant during dry periods. During the Little Ice Age, there were temperature oscillations of 1.5°C with five warmer peaks (Tyson & Lindesay 1992: 273). Peter Tyson and Janette Lindesay (1992; also, Tyson 1999), have suggested the approximate dates for before and after the Little Ice Age, listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Approximate dates for warmer/cooler periods before and after the Little Ice Age (after Tyson & Lindesay 1992; Tyson 1999).

Date	Cooler	Warmer
2700-2200 BCE	X	
2200-1500 BCE		X
1500- 500 BCE	X	
CE 0-200		X
CE 100-200	X	
CE 250-600		X
CE 600-900	X	
CE 900-1300		X
CE 1300-1500	X	
CE 1500-1675		Sudden warming
CE 1675-1850	X	
CE 1850-		X

People have lived in these areas throughout these time periods, from as far back as 20,000 years, and have adapted to the changing climate and environment (Opperman 1987, 1992, 1996, 1999), which I next present.

THE PEOPLE

While we know people were occupying the high Drakensberg at least 20,000 years ago (Opperman & Heydenrych 1990), we do not know if they are ascendants of the people painting here. Hermanus Opperman's (1987) research shows that the people living in the Eastern Cape Drakensberg in the Late Holocene followed a predominantly hunting economy with a protein rich diet, provided by large and medium game, fish, and frogs. There is little evidence for plant food and plant food processing, except at Strathalan (Opperman 1996; Opperman & Heydenrych 1990). Hermanus Opperman argues the foragers of this area moved between the high Drakensberg and lower areas to profit seasonally from the game, fish, and plant resources that were available. The foragers spent the spring and summers in the high Drakensberg and moved to the lower areas surrounding the high mountains during winter. Groups may well have aggregated at certain times of the year as Lyn Wadley (1986, 1992) has

suggested. Aron Mazel (2009: 107) argues that the finely detailed polychrome paintings found throughout the Drakensberg and Maloti mountains were to some degree painted because of knowledge of non-San and thus, may well be 'contact' art. This knowledge may be because San travelled outside of southern Africa, or itinerant non-San groups were travelling within (for example: Sadr & Sampson 2006). It is also essential to consider the impact of different groups of San people on each other – we cannot assume a blanket 'San-ness' for all early people living in southern Africa. Knowledge of others may well have affected different groups of San's conceptions of themselves – their own identity compared with that of another. The San may have signalled specific identities and made their marks on specific landscapes – a type of public messaging (see McDonald & Veth 2011) – before non-San people moved in.

By CE 1600 the areas surrounding Barkly East (Area 1) and Aliwal North (Area 2) were populated by different groups of people. Sotho-Tswana were living in the eastern Free State, Sotho in Lesotho, and Nguni people in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Stockenstrom 1887; Soga 1930, 1931; Forbes 1965; Wright 1971; Elphick & Giliomee (eds.) 1990; Hammond-Tooke 1993; Loubser & Laurens 1994; Jolly 1996a&b; Whitelaw 2009; Legassick 2010; Fig. 5). Khoekhoe, Korana, and Griqua people were living to the north and west of Aliwal North and Barkly East (Stockenstrom 1887; Forbes 1965; Elphick & Giliomee (eds.) 1990; Barnard 1992: 156-198; Ouzman 2005). The Barkly East and Aliwal North areas with the southern Drakensberg formed an open frontier between the Cape and the areas to the north, east and south. By the 1800s many varied groups were living in and moving through these areas, in search of grazing, hunting, trading, missioning, and raiding (Barrow 1801; Campbell 1815; Burchell 1822; Bisset 1875; Stockenstrom 1887; Sauer 1937; Maquarrie 1962; Fynn 1969; Wright 1971; Ross 1976; Sparrman 1976/7; Elphick 1977; Saunders 1977; Opperman 1987; Loubser & Laurens 1994; Blundell 2004; Ouzman 2005; Gilmour 2006: 16-50; Landau 2010; Legassick 2010; Du Plooy 2014; Fig. 5). Of additional impact was the displacement of people during the so-called Mfecane/Lifaqane in the early 1800s (Hammond-Tooke 1993: 32; Landau 2010: 34-40; Legassick 2010).

From historical accounts, Hermanus Opperman (1987: 16-19), with further detail provided by Geoff Blundell (2004: 36), position five San-led groups in the southern Drakensberg and foothills in the mid to late 1800s – the areas to the south and south-east of Barkly East. To this we can add what appears to be a further three San groups to the north and north-east of Barkly East (Fig 5). A group of San, apparently 100 men strong, lived at the confluence of the Orange and Kraai River led by Pylman who may have been half-Khoekhoen (Du Plooy 2014: 14). To the north-east of Aliwal North, another group was led by Baardman or Ow'ku'ru'keu and lived on the farm Lichtenstein (Stow 1905: 183-187; Du

Plooy 2014: 15-16). Between Aliwal North, Jamestown, and Burgersdorp, Knecht Windvogel led, and he may have been of San and Khoekhoe descent (Stow 1905: 198; Du Plooy 2014: 15). Also recorded is the band leader Denussa, who may have had San and Xhosa parents, and used the Witteberg around Lady Grey as their base (Du Plooy 2014: 14).

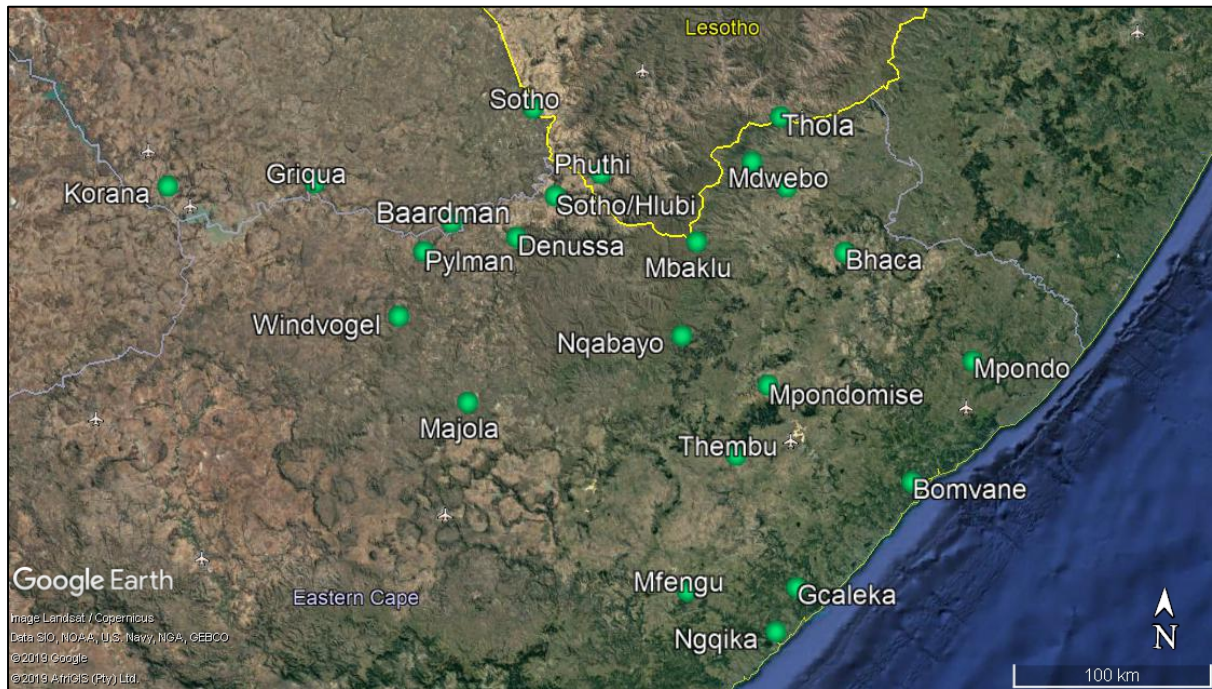


Figure 5: Google map showing placement of different groups of San, mixed San, and non-San circa 1800s CE. Markers indicate general area (Image Landsat/Copernicus, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO ©2019 Google, ©2019 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd).

My focus on this information is not to find specific artists or the individuals responsible for the paintings that are found throughout these areas. What is important here is the evidence for San in control of contact, interacting, and intermarrying with people from other groups. This creolisation process appears to have played out variedly over many hundreds of years (Herbert 1992; Loubser & Laurens 1994; Blundell 2004; Challis 2008). This information also seems to indicate that the San of the southern Drakensberg and foothills (Area 1) appear to have more extended contact and interaction with southern Nguni and Sotho descendants, and the San to west of these areas (Area 2), with Khoekhoen descendants. The differential proximities mean that we may find evidence for these specific interactions in the rock paintings of the two areas.

The influence of different ideologies on those of the San is complex, context-driven, and multi-directional (Hall 1994; Loubser & Laurens 1994; Jolly 1995, 1996a&b; Hammond-Tooke 1998: 130; Prins 1999; Blundell 2004: 69-74; Challis 2008). I argue an examination of the core beliefs and rituals that are shared by people may be more insightful to how the creolisation process occurred in specific areas. From previous research, it appears that for many San and Khoekhoe descendants, the expression of ideas relating to girls' puberty rites became the nexus of their interaction (Smith & Ouzman 2004; Eastwood 2007; Eastwood *et al* 2010; Morris 2010; Hollmann 2011). For the San interacting with Sotho and Nguni descendants, their depicted focus seemed to remain on ritual specialists and the control of rain and game/domestic animals (Campbell 1987; Laurens & Loubser 1994; Hammond-Tooke 1998; Challis 2008; Whitelaw 2009; 2017). One of the greatest challenges for my research is age approximations, and whether there was ever a time in the paintings of the research areas when San had no knowledge of others.

THE TIME

Dating methods have improved significantly because researchers can isolate carbon in black pigments, which date the paint to its manufacture because the carbon is "*derived from short-lived organic materials*" (Bonneau *et al* 2017: 327-328). Researchers can also remove calcium carbonates and calcium oxalates which are radiocarbon contaminants (Bonneau *et al* 2017: 327-328). The paintings selected for dating from the Maclear district (Area 1) are fine-line with "colour gradients" (Bonneau *et al* 2017: 327). The AMS radiocarbon dating results from this study for Maclear are presented in Table 2 (Bonneau *et al* 2017: 330-331).

These dates show that the oldest paintings of antelope date to 2998 cal BP (Bonneau *et al* 2017: 323, 331). Paintings of eland and humans from 2748 cal BP – 1586 cal BP (Bonneau *et al* 2017: 327, 331-332). The samples taken from LAB1 (Fig. 6) were dated 2998, 2690, 1620, 1530 cal BP, and these with the other dates show that people were painting in a fine-line technique from approximately 3000 years ago to the 1900s CE. Unfortunately, the authors do not give examples of each of the paintings dated which would indicate exactly what they mean by 'colour gradients' and allow researchers, like me, who do not have access to these dating techniques, to make comparisons with other similar paintings. Photographs of the sites that are available on the African Rock Art Digital Archive (SARADA) indicate that the finer, less coarse pigments, finer detailing, and shaded-polychrome paintings appear to be older than the coarser or more watery pigments executed in bi- or monochromes (for example: LAB1 and TYN2 compared to PRH1).

Table 2: Dating results for Maclear ‘San’ rock art (after Bonneau *et al* 2017: 330-331).

Sample identification	AMS laboratory code	Conventional 14C age BP ($\pm 1\sigma$)	Calibrated age BP (95.4% confidence)
LAB7-2013-C2	OxA-28978	124 \pm 23	254–present
LAB7-2013-C1	OxA-28977	147 \pm 23	263–present
FRE4-2013-C7	OxA-X-2555-19	290 \pm 90	494–present
PRH1-2013-C2	OxA-29186	308 \pm 35	452–155
PRH1-2013-C1	OxA-28980	447 \pm 23	509–338
FRE4-2013-C6	OxA-X-2555-20	510 \pm 90	641–318
FRE4-2013-C4	OxA-X-2555-21	770 \pm 100	903–531
FRE4-2013-C3	OxA-X-2555-22	1160 \pm 140	1297–768
FRE4-2013-C8	OxA-X-2555-18	1420 \pm 140	1561–977
LAB1-2013-C3	OxA-X-2555-17	1530 \pm 90	1585–1189
LAB1-C2	OxA-25961	1620 \pm 90	1700–1305
TYN2-C6	OxA-25966	1900 \pm 90	2002–1586
TYN2-C5	OxA-25965	1940 \pm 90	2050–1607
LAB1-C1	OxA-25960	2040 \pm 120	2308–1705
TYN2 RP/2009/003/13	OxA-X-2370-29	2072 \pm 28	2081–1919
TYN2-C3	OxA-25964	2080 \pm 90	2306–1754
TYN2 RP/2009/003/29	OxA-X-2370-31	2083 \pm 32	2093–1920
TYN2 RP/2009/003/14	OxA-X-2370-30	2100 \pm 40	2148–1926
TYN2-C7	OxA-25967	2290 \pm 110	2699–1941
TYN2-C1	OxA-25962	2390 \pm 140	2748–2060
CHA1-C1	OxA-X-2590-20	2590 \pm 110	2848–2352
LAB1-2013-C5	OxA-X-2555-16	2690 \pm 100	2998–2381



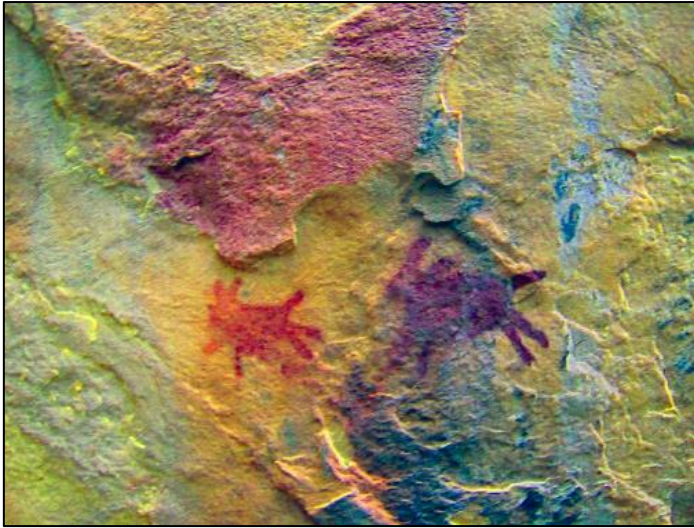
Figure 6: Examples of fine-line paintings at LAB1. Bonneau *et al* 2017 do not indicate locations of removed samples (Dstretch AC).

This may mean that the top-most layer of paintings executed in coarse and watery pigments are the most recent. The material culture that is painted can also be helpful in finding an approximate date – such as unambiguous ‘contact’ motifs like shields and horses that can be linked to known archaeology, historical records, and ethnography. I recognise that San artists may have chosen to paint in a specific ‘style’ (fine-line, rough brush) using specific pigment types (fine, coarse) to communicate different things which may have nothing to do with the passing of time or availability of material (Lewis-Williams 1992: 5-7), and that different ‘styles’ need not be sequential but may recur depending on the aims and agencies of their artists. Thus, artists could have painted fine-line shaded polychromes and rough-brush coarse monochromes at the same time to express different things or identify different groups of artists – there could be several San – or other – groups present at the same time with different iconographic traditions. Due to these complications, I identify the layers in which the paintings occur – bottom, middle, and upper – but do not assume a date from this layering because of the use of superimposing by artists. I also recognise that layers between sites and areas may have different ages.

Various finds of sheep and cattle remains, pottery, glass beads and metals in both the northern Drakensberg and the Lesotho highlands dated to the first millennium have shown that San groups had contact with others far earlier than previously supposed (Mitchell & Whitelaw 2005: 215, 217, 233; Mitchell *et al* 2008: 7, 13, 14; Mazel 2009: 104-106; Mitchell 2009: 24, 26, 27, 29, 31; Orton *et al* 2013). We also know that San people travelled some distances – up to 500 km and further – evidenced by paintings of exotic animals and finds of exotic shells and faunal remains as well as other research undertaken on foragers in the southern Cape (Opperman 1987; Mitchell 1997: 388; Ouzman & Wadley 1997: 393; Sealy 2006: 570; Mazel 2009: 102-104). Aron Mazel (2009: 104) uses this evidence to argue for wide-spread exchange networks 2700 years ago. I suggest San may also have travelled to distant groups, both San and non-San, and question whether there are any paintings that are strictly pre-contact in the research areas. The paintings I recorded are not directly dated and are multitemporal by virtue of their superimpositions. Visually, they are like the Maclear dated rock art, and over the last two to three thousand years it is likely that San of this area had knowledge of other African groups, if not yet direct ‘contact’.

THE ROCK PAINTINGS

George Stow (1930) recorded rock paintings in the research areas in the 1870s and 1880s, followed by Helen Tongue (1909) and Otto Moszeik (1910) in the early twentieth century. Walter Battis (1948) spent some time in Area 1 in the 1940s and Neil Lee and Bert Woodhouse (1970) recorded sites in both areas in the 1960s to 1980s. Jalmar and Lone Rudner (1970) also recorded a few sites in the 1960s. David Lewis-Williams worked in Area 1 in the 1970s and much of his early work is based on these paintings (1981a). Other researchers who have made significant contributions based on the paintings of these research areas are, Thomas Dowson (1988), Colin Campbell (1987), Geoff Blundell (2004), David Pearce (2004, with Lewis-Williams), Lara Mallen (2005), Leila Henry (2010), Sven Ouzman (2005), and David Witelson (2018). Sven Ouzman is the only researcher to have done any extensive research in Area 2 which remains largely under-surveyed. The rock paintings are executed in fine-line (Fig. 3), rough brush, and finger-painting techniques; the latter occur in greater numbers in Area 2 (Fig. 7). The artists used a variety of pigments of black, red, yellow, orange, white, brown, grey, and pink and are mono-, bi-, polychrome, and at times the bichrome and polychrome paintings are shaded (Chapter 4). The pigments range from very fine, to coarse, and watery – the latter are found in the top painted layers. Area 1 had the same number of animals painted compared to humans (521:522) while Area 2 has substantially fewer animals painted than humans (655:1154). The rock paintings of Areas 1 and 2 are my primary evidence for the explication of artistic expressions of gender.



a.



b.



c.



d.

Figure 7: Examples of rough brush painted animals (a) from Area 1, and front apron (b) and finger-painted geometrics (c, d) from Area 2.

THE PROCESS

This study is embedded in feminist theory, method, and practice. Standpoint feminist empiricism has a great deal to offer every aspect of the archaeological process (Inteman 2010; Crasnow *et al* 2015). Inherent in the democratisation of knowledge production is the concept of ‘struggling-with’. *“To struggle-with would involve building relations with others by which we may come to know the world and understand one another, that is the project of building knowing communities”* (Pohlhaus 2002: 292). To struggle-with also means debating relevance and collectively finding a better way of doing archaeology and finely honing our re-constructions of the past, which I discuss in the next chapter. It also demands an awareness of how we bias our research in the questions we ask and do not ask. As Sandra Harding states (1987: 7): *“the questions that are asked – and even more significantly, the questions that are not asked – are at least as determinative of our total picture as are any answers that we can discover”*.

This last point is significant. Over the past twenty years, southern African rock art research has made huge strides in explaining different ‘themes’, such as the significance of what animals are painted or identifying paintings of puberty rites (Hollmann 2003, 2005; Challis 2005; Mguni 2005; Eastwood 2006; Green *et al* 2007), or, identifying different painting and marking traditions (Ouzman 2005; Challis 2008; Mallen 2008; Henry 2011; Green 2012, 2015). One unifying element of this research is few use quantitative approaches in specific areas (but see Smith & Ouzman 2004; Ouzman 2001, 2005; Eastwood 2008; Ndlovu 2013). Rock art archaeologists have generally eschewed quantitative approaches because they are argued to involve imposing *etic*, subjective categories which may ‘create’ a record (Lewis-Williams & Loubser 1986: 258; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994: 209; Witelson 2018: 7-8). They further argue that when we establish patterns, those patterns cannot tell us about meanings. I believe this response to be self-limiting and argue the opposite – these approaches can indicate broad areas of meaning; Patricia Vinnicombe’s (1976) research is an ample example. In practice, our approaches are dependent on our questions – as Ian Hodder (2012: 2) states: *“...each study takes what it wants of things”*. Even if we do not record the number of painted lions we identify, we still categorise them as lions. We know enough about the rock paintings to use a quantitative approach that is further tested by *emic* ideologies. Additionally, making generalisations about the paintings is not the only function or use of a quantitative approach. The most important of these is by recording every image in a site we can compare these paintings within a site, with other sites in the immediate vicinity, those close-by in other valleys, and further afield, which may provide more information about individual and collective identities and how these may differ, in a single locale and without.

Thus, I test the usefulness of analysing all paintings in a random selection of sites determined by two study areas in the northern Eastern Cape, using a quantitative as well as a qualitative method. I chose two study areas so that findings from each are used to cross-check results from the other in the mutually enabling and constraining web of evidence as advocated by feminist philosopher Alison Wylie (1989, 2001, 2007). Any differences in the patterning of what is painted and where, between areas, can indicate differences in how individuals and forager groups used rock art to negotiate their constructions of self in 'natural' and supernatural contexts. Certain differences could also be an index of contact with other groups such as Khoekhoe pastoralists and incoming Sotho and Nguni farmers. Even without direct 'contact', people's beliefs can change as knowledge of and from new people negotiates San networks.

Discussing the significance of paintings of men and women and male and female animals is an enormous topic and I have limited my analysis to paintings of people to fit the scope of Masters' level research. I study depictions of humans with a brief discussion of non-human animals, especially antelope, because for many San "*people were animals and animals were people*" (Bleek 1931: 179; Hollmann 2004: 5). Important beliefs were expressed through paintings of animals and their behaviour, and previous rock art research has demonstrated that the San used natural modelling to highlight specific beliefs (Lewis-Williams 1981a; Ouzman 1995, 1996; Eastwood & Cnoops 1999; Hollmann 2002, 2003, 2005; Mallen 2005; Mguni 2005; Eastwood 2006).

Thus, I first determine the gender and sex of the painted human or non-human animal depicted; then identify how bodies are portrayed, what is being carried or held, the behaviour(s) portrayed while also noting associated painted, archaeological, and topographic contexts. This contextualisation is essential because we know that while many San groups shared cognitive commonalities, they also reacted to their landscapes and mindscapes differently (Barnard 1992, 2007; Parkington 1996; Parkington *et al* 1996; Parkington & Manhire 1997; Eastwood 2003, 2005, 2008). The results from this quantitative and qualitative analysis establish patterns which I test further through a detailed comparative analysis of all paintings in two subjectively chosen sites – one from each research area.

This study tests the relevance of using a focus on gender and sex, new theory and method, to find a multi-contextual understanding of certain San rock paintings of the northern Eastern Cape. In so doing, I analyse the evidence from rock paintings, historical documentation, excavation archaeology, ethology, neuroscience, and ethnography. Like most archaeological research, I use analogical forms of inference but consider both the similarities and dissimilarities between sources and subjects (Wylie

2001: 149 – 151), and predominantly abductive reasoning (Fischer 2001; also Aliseda 2006: 28; Arrighi & Ferrario 2008: 79; Magnani 2009). My focus is not to find another explanation for the San rock art of the northern Eastern Cape, but rather add to and build on our present understanding by asking different questions and using different techniques to answer these questions. I begin sharing this process in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Theoretical entanglements

Thus, a good philosophy of science must, like good science, achieve a balance among empirical success, predictive success and explanatory power and must, as a good epistemology of science, describe and explain how scientific knowledge is acquired.

Crasnow, Wylie, Bauchspies & Potter 2015:23

In this chapter, I describe my theoretical foci and the way in which the theories I use have inspired, directed, and influenced my research. I then turn to previous engendered research in fine-line rock arts to identify the important learning contributed, which I apply in this work.

RELEVANCE

Archaeology, like all sciences, involves various forms of testing (Wylie 1992a; Shanks 1998; Baines & Brophy 2006; Shanks & Witmore 2010; Hodder 2012; Crema 2015; Wylie 2015). We formulate and identify hypotheses, which are tested against the archaeological 'record' (but see Patrik 1985 for a critique). We find theories and methods that we use for these tests and judge them according to the results produced. This entire process is subjectively objective and is based, to a large degree, on what we consider 'relevant'. As Margaret Conkey asks: "*for whom are we doing what we are doing when we do archaeology?*" (2007: 306).

We define relevance as that which is most helpful, pertinent, and applicable to examining, understanding, and/or achieving a previously identified goal or purpose within a specific context (Hodder 2012). For some archaeologists this will involve choosing a specific technique to enable an analysis, such as retouch on lithics (Pargeter 2016). For others it will involve collecting data to enable a classification of style or tradition, such as 'Koranna' rock art (Ouzman 2005); for some it will involve an explicit use of theory to enable an understanding of the past, such as the use of embodiment theory for certain Eastern Cape rock arts (Blundell 2004); for others, it will involve a political commitment to a specific standpoint, such as feminists exposure of androcentrism (Conkey & Gero 1991). For still others, the choice between what is conserved in heritage and by whom, such as community groups' access to heritage sites (Pikirayi 2016). These examples highlight a concern with relevance. Indeed, questioning relevance is central to the epistemic heart of archaeology.

How do we judge relevance? Standpoint feminists suggest that in finding what is described as “strong objectivity” and the ability to judge relevance we need to be explicit about every aspect of the archaeological process (Harding 2004: 31-32; Crasnow *et al* 2015: 32). In so doing, the contextual elements of our research become visible and all aspects of the research process open to scrutiny. This transparent praxis empowers and engages a critical assessment by archaeologists and non-archaeologists, and enables us to identify gaps, mis-understandings, things that puzzle, and areas needing further research. One such area is the study of gender (Moen 2019), and in this case, using feminist theory.

STANDPOINT FEMINIST THEORY

Feminist theory, especially Standpoint feminism, has demonstrated its relevance to archaeology and other disciplines, both in theory and practice (Spector 1993; Wylie 2003, 2012; Intemann 2010; Longino 2010; Green 2012; Crasnow 2013; Zubieta 2013; Crasnow *et al* 2015). Standpoint feminist theory can be described as distinctly plural, anti-essentialist, intersectional, and influences not only the way in which we approach the past, but also our practice in the present – achieving a more “*humanly inclusive archaeology*” (Wylie 2003: 2; also Hanen & Kelley 1992: 216; Harding 2004). Standpoint feminists are committed to two general principles. First, gender, especially women (identified and socialised) as well as marginalised groups, are always an important aspect of research, and second, “*epistemic provisionalism*” – research is always open-ended and should be exposed to continuous revision (Wylie 2004: 4; also Longino 1994; Wylie 2003; Harding 2004). Standpoint feminism also includes three closely related and intertwined theses – situated knowledge, epistemic privilege, and achievement (Wylie 2003, 2012; Crasnow 2013; Crasnow *et al* 2015). I focus on the two general principles – gender and the marginalised and epistemic provisionalism, and the first thesis – situated knowledge.

Gender and the marginalised are always important

The androcentric nature of past archaeologies is well documented (for example: Conkey & Gero 1991, 1997; Handsman 1991; Hanen & Kelley 1992; Spector 1993; Stevenson 1995; Conkey & Tringham 1996; Conkey 1997; Conkey & Gero 1997; Gilchrist 1999; Dowson 2001; Oyéwùmi 2002; Hays-Gilpin 2004; Conkey 2007; Englestad 2007; Gero 2007; Moser 2007; Tomášková 2007; Wylie 2007; Longino 2010; Moen 2019). This Cartesian, patriarchal, positivist, hierarchical approach focused on man-the-hunter, man-the-toolmaker, man-the-artist, and man-the-rational-thinker, which cast women in

passive roles when women were considered. These normative masculist (*sensu* Dowson 2001: 325) ideologies censor and bias both the approach to and interpretation of the past (Conkey 1997). However, as feminists have recognised, simply replacing an androcentric ideology with a gynocentric one is missing the point of feminist theory and practice (Conkey 2003: 876). I focus on enabling complex understandings of 'woman' in the rock paintings of the research areas; if such an emic category of 'woman' existed. I also recognise that interpretations of 'man' (with the same cautions) can be as simplistically rendered as those of woman. Paintings of bodies with penises and/or breasts do not necessarily represent 'man' nor 'woman'. The people that I study may have believed gender to be marginal and incidental to how and why they presented their identities. I am sensitive to the many categories of person that may have existed here.

A focus on the marginalised also includes questioning our research practice and replication of the normative processes that archaeologists deem acceptable and fruitful in investigating the past. For this reason I test the relevance of using quantitative and qualitative methods – which I describe in the next chapter – in recording all rock paintings in a random selection of 21 sites from my chosen research areas, as well as, a focused study of two subjectively chosen sites from each area. I believe this combination of methods that analyse both collections of and individual paintings can produce more sensitive articulations of gender, agency, and past beliefs about personhood.

Epistemic provisionalism

All archaeologists deal with partials or fragments. The evidence we collect can never be argued to be all the evidence that it is possible to collect. When we excavate, we can only argue with the evidence that we have uncovered for that site in that context. Our knowledge claims are provisional because we accept that more evidence could be found that alters or completely changes what we thought we knew. This type of knowing encapsulates what I believe are two important elements of epistemic provisionalism, described by Cynthia Enloe as that of 'curiosity' and 'surprise' (Enloe 2004 cited by Conkey 2013: 111).

Taking inspiration from Cynthia Enloe's work, Margaret Conkey encourages a deeper curiosity and recognition of how the patriarchal structures and assumptions of archaeology continue to effect and affect our research (Conkey 2013: 111-113). In being deeply curious we can learn something new about our evidence, but also to what extent our studies are subtly manipulated:

*...as curious feminists we **are** curious about “the women”, not just because it is women alone that we are interested in (or who, some feel, are still left out of the picture, marginalised, stereotyped negatively, etc) but because in a deeply pervasive culture of patriarchy, we will, she [Enloe] says, **always** learn something new, something about strictures and structures of patriarchy that underpin, even gird, the entire enterprise of archaeological research and interpretation; from how it is practiced and by whom (see Conkey & Wylie 2007) to the very questions that are deemed important, the very evidence that is considered to be acceptable, and the very interpretative scenarios that are proposed and instantiated as “the way things were”. This is the case even if we are interested in masculinity, alternative genders, or the intersections of gender with other dimensions of social life (Conkey 2013: 112).*

Closely related to curiosity is an openness to surprise, two aspects of which I highlight. The first is related to the questions we ask. If we only investigate the known, our research stagnates and merely supports what we think we know. It also highlights the problem of over-rewarding unambiguous research and the associated methods and language that are used which stem from this obsession with ‘scientific conclusiveness’ (Conkey 2007; Gero 2007; Wylie 2007; Green 2012). Second, is a consideration of why we are surprised. *“What does this new information do to our earlier assumed understandings, analyses, or assumptions?”* (Conkey 2013: 113). For example, in my research investigating the circle imprints in rock shelters both with and without rock paintings, I was surprised that the imprints were the residue left by women and children drying dung patties, sometimes mixed with clay, on the rock shelter wall because I initially assumed they may be finger-painted circle motifs (2012, 2015). I was also surprised at why these markings had been ignored or over-looked by mainstream archaeology. This taught me a great deal about epistemic provisionalism, and the way we privilege certain theories, methodologies, methods, and things (Green 2015).

There are two further aspects to epistemic provisionalism that are important. First, we need to evaluate one another’s work with the acknowledgement of the partial nature of our evidence. I recognise that all rock art research is a product of its time, both in theory and method. While I critique some of these works, I do so with respect as each is a valuable contribution to the approach to and understanding of southern African rock arts.

Second, I am profoundly affected by Kimberlé Crenshaw’s “Black feminist critique” of how ‘black’ women are theoretically erased, and theory becomes practise (Crenshaw 1989: 139). I am researching a past that is not my own with people I cannot know, and I question whether we can ever rewrite history from a San perspective (*cf.* Smith 2010: 356). In response to the question of whether men can be feminists Sandra Harding states (not unproblematically): *“The issue here is not so much one of the right to claim a label as it is of the prerequisites for producing less partial and distorted descriptions,*

explanations, and understandings" (Harding 1987: 12). The central purpose of my research is an attempt to re-complicate the people living in the research areas through an analysis of the paintings they made. To add detail and nuances to their engendered experiences.

Situated knowledge

Standpoint feminists show that there is not only one knowledge, and not only one way of approaching that knowledge (Crasnow 2013: 417; see Chapter 3 for methodology and method). Knowledge is embodied and value-laden rather than "*acquired through a universal, disembodied, rational mind*" (Intemann 2010: 785; also Harding 1986; Crasnow 2013). Knowledge and knower are neither impartial nor neutral (Crasnow *et al* 2015: 30). Additionally, the ways in which the social locations of knower and knowledge will shape experience are dependent and contingent. There are two points I wish to emphasise.

First, we are not situated in theoretical vacuums. We choose what evidence to 'use', what evidence to discard, in terms of relevance to our knowledge projects. This obviously affects how and what we know. For example, Sam Challis (2008) focused on a corpus of images created by a creolised frontier group labelled 'The AmaTola', and provides important insights into creolisation studies, with contextual, nuanced explanations for many of the paintings, notably those of baboons and horses. However, while he mentions the many paintings of women, he does not give any focused attention to these paintings as they are not relevant to his aims, as they are to mine. As an example, I question the role of women ritual specialists, their possible likeness to those of men, and if women were war-doctors like men were. The potential of these paintings to give more information about how the AmaTola negotiated their natural and supernatural worlds is underdeveloped.

Second, and related to the first point, are the problems caused by unequal power relations and the importance of exposing the impact these have on all aspects of our research. In southern African archaeology there has been only one volume published on engendered research and that was over twenty years ago (Wadley 1997). Within rock art archaeology, over the past fifteen years no volumes have been published on gender. Most of the books published on rock art are written by male students from the Rock Art Research Institute at the University of Witwatersrand. I know of the excellent research female students have undertaken but it appears to be valued differently (e.g., Stevenson 1995; Namono 2004; Mallen 2008; Zubieta 2013). Equally worrying are the content and illustrations usually published in these books which appear to focus on men. Looking through David Lewis-Williams and Sam Challis' publication (2011), there are only three redrawings of paintings that clearly represent

women ritual specialists, and the majority are assumed to be men. The illustration of a San trance dance is provided with the caption: “...As the women clap the rhythm, the feet of the dancing men make a rut in the sand”, although one of the dancing figures is clearly a woman (2011: Colour plate 3; Fig. 8). What we experience is men writing about a selectively male past which can establish a context where men have all the power. I believe it redundant to argue that perhaps these pasts were exclusively male and thus, male researchers are better placed to research them because following this line of reasoning, no-one would be researching anything but their own recent past. This selective bias has important impacts on what students we attract, what research they do, how they approach it, what futures they have, and how our audiences and the public understand the past. Gender should be part of every research aim, whatever the social location of the researcher and whatever the subject (Ghisleni *et al* 2016; Moen 2019). All research has gendered import and these findings should be made visible.



Figure 8: Photo of trance dance; circle indicates woman who is not identified by Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011 (after Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011: plate 3).

This also emphasises the feminist goal: “to encourage the presence of women and men who differ by race, class, nation, sexuality, disability, etc. and who can bring to science and science studies a multifaceted awareness of difference, power relations, domination, language and of the need for innovative methodologies” (Crasnow *et al* 2015: 22). Including people from different social locations leads to what standpoint feminists describe as the researcher as “insider/outsider” (Crasnow *et al* 2015: 30). The researcher is better able to approach the object of study both with the training of a

specific discipline and with the experience from a marginalised social location (Crasnow *et al* 2015: 30). An important element of being an insider/outsider is that knowledge is achieved from a specific standpoint (Intemann 2010: 785). Alison Wylie (2003: 31) defines a standpoint as: *“a critical consciousness about the nature of our social location and the difference it makes epistemically”*. Standpoints do not arise automatically from being in a specific location, neither are they universally shared perspectives of certain groups of people. I will not necessarily have an epistemic advantage because I am a woman, neither can I speak for the experience of all women.

I argue focused attention on these points is critical for our research. I suggest the unequal power relations that exist in rock art archaeology are one of the reasons that gender studies are avoided. It is also difficult dealing with an ethno-historical record that is predominantly recorded by white men. I do not believe this means we should stop asking engendered questions of the past, because if we do not try, the result is sustaining the status quo. *“...the most interesting questions inevitably lead beyond the safety of clear-cut, empirically secure answers”* (Wylie 2002: 153).

Establishing a marginalised research collective does not necessarily mean epistemic strength and that bias will be avoided, but it does provide the potential for approaching and doing our studies with different points of view. It is unfortunate that my research institution allows for only two supervisors because I believe my research would have been greatly improved by a group of people from a range of locations. I also encourage our starting to explore how we can include San descendants in our research. South Africa seems way behind other countries who show how deeply enriched their research programmes are by including descendant communities (Wylie 2015). I extend and develop these theories and materialities in presenting my interpretation of Ian Hodder’s entanglement.

IAN HODDER’S ENTANGLEMENT (2012)

I briefly describe Ian Hodder’s ideas about entanglement because of the influence they have on my thinking about the paintings. Particle physics has shown us that everything is animate and connected, *“matter ‘becomes’ rather than ‘is’”* – a point which Ian Hodder recognises (2012: 209). The first theorist to use the term ‘entanglement’ was Erwin Schrödinger (1935) to describe a quantum state in which one part cannot be described without investigating the others (Merzbacher 1998: 4; Johnson 2000: 81). Ian Hodder rejects a Cartesian dualistic approach to the past. He combines the best of current theories, cognitive, phenomenological, material, operational, behavioural, evolutionary,

human behaviour ecology, World Systems Theory and Actor Network Theory to analyse four types of relationships between people and things (Hodder 2012: 88, 2014: 19, 20). ‘Things’ include the material and immaterial, tangible and intangible (Hodder 2012: 119-124). Also informed by Historical Materialism, these relationships are:

- people depend on things;
- things depend on people;
- things depend on other things;
- and people depend on people.

The thing/people depending operates in two ways. Dependence is enabling because we rely on things to live – things enable us to do what we need to do and think – but they also constrain us (Hodder 2012: 88; 2014: 20). Dependence and dependency lead us into entanglements (Hodder 2014: 20). *“Entanglement can thus be redefined as the **dialectic** of dependence and dependency between humans and things”* (Hodder 2014: 20; emphasis mine). In our dependence on things, we become entrapped in their dependence on us (Hodder 2012: 88). I have abstracted his arguments for the relationships between people and things to allow their application in any context. I argue these relationships can be thought of as an act, an action, an actioning, and an acted upon, which are all connected and affect the other in their dependence and dependency.

An act

A painting of a human figure has a penis; has eland spoor painted up its legs, wears a *kaross* [leather cloak], carries a quiver with arrows and holds a bow. The pigment and the way the figure is painted may say something of when, how, and why it was painted. This figure may represent something in a specific time – it is an act and it is, whether I am or not. All the paintings that I can record have the same potential.

An action

This painting of a human figure also represents an action – the act of painting. This figure is underpinned and enabled by a set of actions, which includes the act of imagining the painting, sourcing painting materials and, potentially, the painters and their audience(s). Thus, this painting may say something about the artist/s, their painting, and the context in which they paint.

An actioning

This painting of a human figure can be painted alone, and associated with other figures, and/or animals. It is painted in relation to something, even if that something is, to our understanding, nothing. This figure may give information of how and why it is with other figures and animals, how and why it is related in its painted context, and how and why the other figures and animals relate to it – its dependences and dependencies on the rock face.

An acted upon

This painting of a human figure may be seen by the artist, other artists, and other people. These various artists and people may make more paintings on top of, or next to this painting, and they may think about the painting, what the painting does. This painting is with other paintings in the same site, but also exists with other paintings in other sites. This painting, collection of paintings, conglomerates of paintings enable and constrain other acted upons such as thoughts, rituals, and performances not captured on the rock face.

Thus, all the paintings I record are entangled with other paintings and people who made, viewed, and used them. Caught up in these entanglements are the ideas that the various networks have, relate, and connect to. The paintings have an agency independent of their makers and do not stop ‘acting’. The first artists fixed paintings to the rock wall. These paintings represented something, and their ‘meanings’ affected what was painted by the artists following. The meanings also affected the community viewing the paintings. The artists following were constrained by the paintings and their meanings in what they painted, but also enabled by these paintings to create others similar or different. The paintings also affected the rituals involved in painting, but also how the paintings were a ritual fixed to the rock wall constantly energising that ritual, and the paintings underpinned other rituals away from the rock face. In this complex web of entanglements, the dependences and dependencies are not equal, with differential distribution of access (Hodder 2012: 213). Thus, artists may have chosen to represent specific ideas and rituals not available to all viewers and chose to represent specific things because of their effect on other artists, and other people – differentials of power. Humans depend on things to control other people and things, to build power. Things depend on other things and constrain power by technologies and material availability (Hodder 2012: 214). Thus, the paintings and people are caught up in a dialectic of what is and what is not possible.

Entanglements can be productive and distributive but also viciously unequal, destructive and disempowering. The perspective provided by entanglement is that such power relations are not just about control of the means of production, or the control of social relations or social ideologies since those mechanisms of control are themselves set within wider human-thing entanglements (Hodder 2012: 214).

Mapping entanglements detail what is possible for people to do and think as well as the constraints of this doing and thinking. Specific types of entanglement will produce specific types of agents and collectives so that the emphasis is not on these agents but rather, the webs of entanglement that allow for and constrain certain types of agent and agency (Hodder 2012: 215). This dynamic dialectic may enable a closer understanding of what and if gender was, and how it was valued by, and used for, the people of the research areas. I now turn to how other researchers have approached the study of gender in fine-line rock arts.

ENGENDERED ROCK ART RESEARCH

The racist and sexist nature of some past southern African archaeology, anthropology, and history is well-documented (Vinnicombe 1976; Lewis-Williams 1993; Dowson & Lewis-Williams 1994; Stevenson 1995; Skotnes 1996; Guenther 1999; Dowson 2001; Kent 2002; Blundell 2004: 32-33; Penn 2005; Moran 2009; Hays-Gilpin 2013; Deacon & Skotnes 2014). The way in which quantitative research was used led to simplified understandings of fine-line rock arts, largely known as ‘San’/‘Bushman’ or ‘hunter-gatherer’ rock art, such as ‘art-for-art’s-sake’ or ‘sympathetic hunting magic’ (Vinnicombe 1976: 348; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). Ray Inskeep (1971) suggested turning to the recorded beliefs and ideologies of the painters to enable an informed understanding of their arts (Dowson & Lewis-Williams 1994). Patricia Vinnicombe (1976) and David Lewis-Williams (1981a) heeded his advice and produced two influential publications, “People of the Eland” and “Believing and Seeing”. I focus on research that has included gender, to varying degrees, in fine-line paintings. I present the selected research chronologically to consider each piece of research in the context it was produced as it relates to my research project.

Patricia Vinnicombe

Patricia Vinnicombe’s research area covered the central and northern sections of the Maloti-Drakensberg of Kwazulu-Natal (Fig. 9), adjacent to Area 1. She recorded over 8000 images in detail, and used northern and southern San ethnography, historical documents, information from

excavations, and a mixture of theory in an approach that was completely new to rock art research. She concluded that “*a significant portion of the art must have been prompted by reasons that can best be termed potent or communicative. That is, the Bushmen did not paint simply what they saw but selected what was symbolically important to them*” (Vinnicombe 1976: 349). While she did not numerically sex animals, she argues that paintings of rhebok (both Mountain Reedbuck [*Redunca fulvorufula*] and Grey Rhebok [*Pelea capreolus*]) symbolise the family unit and “*intimate family life*” and eland (*Taurotragus oryx*) the “*band*” as a whole as well as being “*a link between the material and spiritual worlds*” (Vinnicombe 1976: 352-353). She associated paintings of men and women with ‘traditional’ recorded roles of hunters, medicine men or sorcerers, and gatherers and clappers, with a binary understanding of gender, and gendered roles.

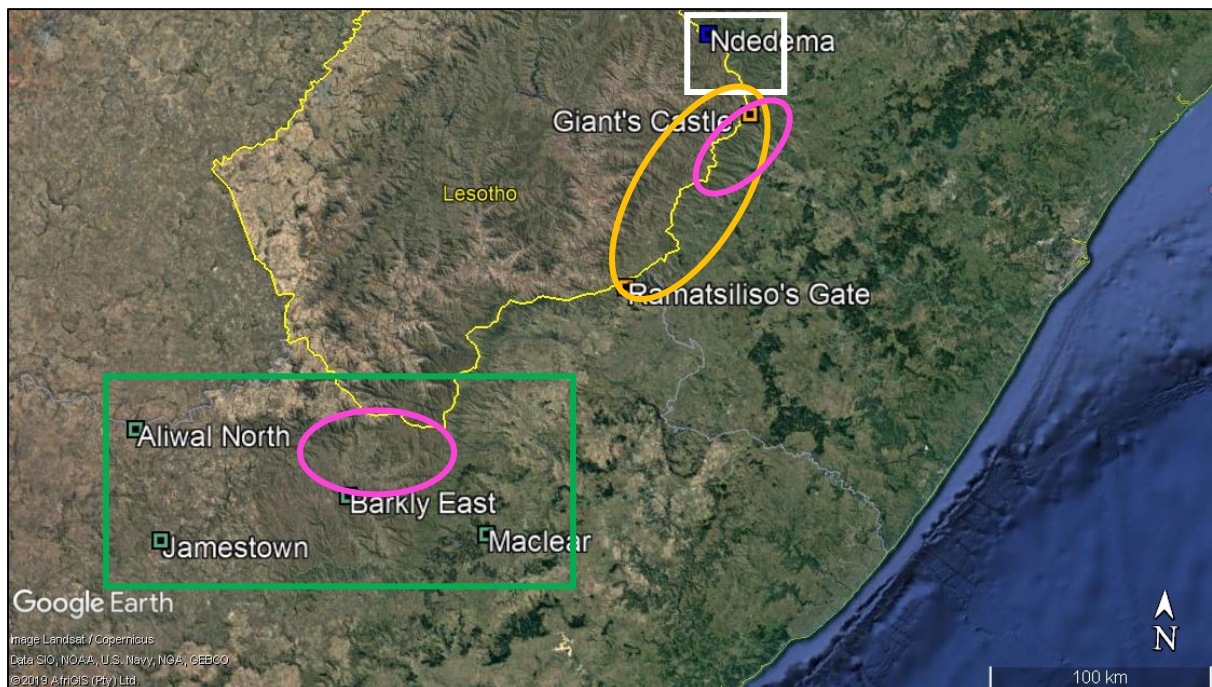


Figure 9: Google map showing different research area locations: Green: Dawn Green (2020); Pink: David Lewis-Williams (1981a); Orange: Patricia Vinnicombe (1976); White: Harald Pager (1971; Image Landsat/Copernicus, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, ©2019 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd).

David Lewis-Williams

Using a similar method, David Lewis-Williams (1981a) used theories of semiotics and the symbolic anthropology of Victor Turner (1966, 1967) to place the rock paintings of his research areas firmly in their ethnographic context. He recorded nearly 3000 images from the Barkly East and Giants Castle areas, in the southern and northern Drakensberg; the former is part of Area 1 (Fig. 9). With an

extensive use of recorded /Xam ethnography supplemented with that of Kalahari San, David Lewis-Williams argued that these rock paintings are related to the important rituals in San life – girls’ puberty rites, boys’ first kill rites, marriage rites, and the medicine or trance dance. On further investigation however, he realised that there were few images that could be clearly tied to girls’ and boys’ puberty rites and marriage rites, and that the majority of paintings were associated with supernatural potency, ritual specialists, and their experiences of altered states of consciousness (Lewis-Williams 1998: 89; 2009: 25). Later, with Thomas Dowson (1988, 1990), David Lewis-Williams used the evidence from neuropsychological research as an independent support for establishing the salience of what has come to be known as the ‘shamanistic’ and ‘neuropsychological’ interpretations of certain fine-line rock arts in the Maloti-Drakensberg (see Lewis-Williams 1998; Blundell 2004).

David Lewis-Williams (1981a) recorded the gender of figures and sex of animals although he did not publish the results of his quantitative study of sexed animals as he admitted at that time to being *“unskilled in sexing paintings of eland; the results of the quantitative surveys therefore contain an unnecessarily high proportion of indeterminate eland”* (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 50). He did however argue that *“most of the paintings [of eland] are intended to represent large, fat males”* (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 50), although my surveys do not support this assumption (see Chapters 4 & 5). David Lewis-Williams recognised the significance of animal behaviour and the sex of animals in understanding the paintings, although gender was not his focus. He argued that some of the paintings are of female eland in heat, and mating herds, and these paintings are related to (very general) notions of sex, fertility, and beneficence (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 52-72). In a later publication with David Pearce (2004: 195) he commented: *“At the same time, a man who could make both male and female rain may well have painted two rain-animals, one of each sex”*. His focus has been on males and male animals and not the significance of gender and sex and their implications for interpretation.

Anne Solomon

The first researcher to focus primarily on gender in southern African rock art is Anne Solomon (1992). With the influence of second-wave feminism (see Gilchrist 1999; Green 2012), she attempted to show that gender is central to understanding San rock art, and questioned the concept of egalitarianism, by saying *“gender symbolism in texts may more appropriately be interpreted in terms of conflict and hierarchy”* (1992: 292-293). She used the post-structuralist theories of Pierre Bordieu (1977, 1979), Anthony Giddens (1979), and Henrietta Moore (1986) to understand the gendering of texts in the use of metaphor, symbol, and practice (Solomon 1992: 294). Her study highlighted how the masculine and feminine are used metaphorically to structure other cultural contrasts such as left/right, cold/hot,

water/fire, death/life for example, key elements of this approach (Solomon 1992: 294). Anne Solomon (1992: 295-305) applied this combination of theories in an analysis of various San texts and especially those relating to female puberty rites, complex *n!ao* beliefs and related notions of hunting and the rain. *N!ao* beliefs are recorded from Ju/'hoānsi in the Kalahari which connect people and certain animals with the weather – good *n!ao* brings rain, and bad *n!ao* cold and drought (Solomon 1992: 298; Hollmann 2004: 96-97). She argues that San women were generally believed to have negative and dangerous potency and retard social production and survival as opposed to San men being active nurturers, social custodians and agents who ensure the future in the provision of rain and the attainment of prosperity (Solomon 1992: 299-301). Generally, San texts seem to show a dominant pre-occupation with gender and sexuality as, she argued, do the paintings because so many figures are depicted naked (Solomon 1992: 307).

Anne Solomon (1992: 321) argued that many images can be explained by their reference to sexuality and gender as opposed to the trance dance and altered states of consciousness. Further, most figures prescribe to the round/female, slender/male dichotomy and thus most paintings of tall, slender figures should be interpreted according to their male gender and not as attenuated figures due to altered state experience (Solomon 1992: 308). She claimed that girls' puberty rites are explicitly painted in the Drakensberg range (Solomon 1992: 307, 313; 1994) and are not depictions of trance dances or transformed ritual specialists (*contra* Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994; Lewis-Williams 1998; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004).

Anne Solomon (1992: 323) argued that the focus on the male ritual specialist and his activities obscures other kinds of rituals in which gender roles are actively negotiated. In a later article in 1994, she introduced the concept of "mythic women" and associated these paintings of front on, open-legged, seated, some with 'genital emissions', and certain standing figures with genital emissions, from multiple areas in southern Africa, directly with female puberty rites and creation tales/origin myths (Solomon 1994: 361).

There are strengths and weaknesses to Anne Solomon's research. To say that women are perceived as negative and dangerous is missing the subtlety and complexity of San metaphor (see Stevenson 1995: 91-92; 97). During puberty, the young girl is also seen as a force for good, she has the power to renew, and restore the land (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 52). At this stage in her life she is filled with potency and must be respected (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 52). Her actions can have both positive and negative repercussions (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 47-53).

Neither is the division of labour simplistic in San societies as has been documented – men do gather as well as women, and occasionally women can hunt (Lee 1968: 33; Draper 1975: 87; Shostak 1981; Katz 1982: 26, 27; Barnard 1992: 116; Guenther 1999: 27). More foundationally, what is considered ‘plant’ and ‘animal’ varies. Both women and men can become ritual specialists, and certain women play an essential and even central role during the trance dance— their clapping and songs help to activate the supernatural potency so essential for wo/men ritual specialists to enter altered states of consciousness, as well as their caring for ritual specialists whilst in these states. (Katz 1982: 98, 99, 160, 173, 175, 176; Bieseke 1993: 84-85; Katz *et al* 1997: 117-129; Guenther 1999: 182-190).

Although both women and men can be connected to sets of gendered attributes (cold/hot, water/fire, herbivore/carnivore, death/life), in no story *“does one of these sets of attributes appear to the exclusion of the others; always they are in dynamic interaction with each other”* (Bieseke 1993: 196; see also Guenther 1999: 162). It does not appear that constructions of gender relegate women predominantly to that of the negative, nor does it appear that beliefs of gender are simple or merely based on binary understandings (also Katz 1982: 26-28; Stevenson 1995: 14, 33, 47, 93). Indeed, Megan Bieseke (1993: 196) emphasises the dynamic relationship between symbols of gender (also Conkey & Gero 1991: 9).

Anne Solomon’s argument for paintings of mythic women is also problematic. She does not, for example, give any attention to the sex of the associated painted animals, which she admits in some cases appear to be “rain animals”; nor does she give consideration to experiences of multiple genders whilst in altered states of consciousness (see Ouzman 1997). Further, she does not consider this posture as the action and process by which ritual specialists access supernatural potency, like figures standing in an open legged stance. It seems possible to argue that these are paintings of rain ritual specialists calling the rain, and if we could show these associated rain animals to be female, then they could be argued to be paintings of ritual specialists calling female rain.

However, Anne Solomon has made a vital contribution to the study of rock arts. She has:

- Foregrounded gender and different understandings of gender by San people in the past;
- Shown that simple notions of egalitarianism need to be confronted and problematized;
- Shown that we need to be very cautious when gendering and sexing people and animals in the paintings and focus must be given to associated paintings;
- Emphasised the need for critical reflexivity as standpoint feminists prescribe.

Following these papers, Anne Solomon (1999, 2000, 2006a&b, 2007) and David Lewis-Williams (1998, 1999, 2006, 2007) entered into a public 'debate' on the polysemy of San rock art which had the unfortunate consequence of creating a hard gender/shamanism divide in the approach to and understandings of fine-line rock paintings (Stevenson 1995). The resulting effect could be that sex and gender are largely ignored in southern African rock art archaeology. Additionally, we remember the argument between these two authors and not the important points contributed.

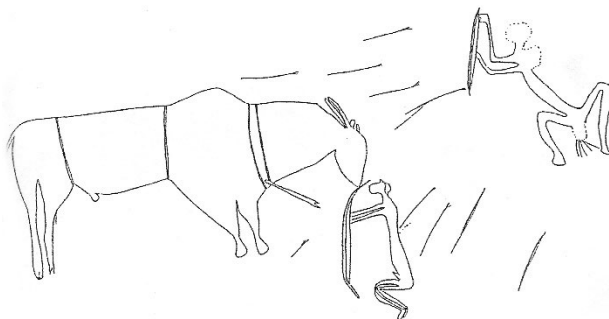
Judith Stevenson

Judith Stevenson (1995) made a significant contribution to rock art research with her feminist inspired focus on gender in San rock art. Using a similar approach to David Lewis-Williams (1981) she used the symbolic anthropology of Victor Turner (1967), Henrietta Moore (1986, 1988, 1991) and Michelle Rosaldo (1980) to identify some of the linkages between gender, metaphor, and San rock art mostly from the northern and southern Drakensberg. She rejected the opposition between gendered and shamanistic understandings of San rock art as unnecessary and unhelpful. She continued with Anne Solomon's questioning of notions of egalitarianism but argued that gender relations were both hierarchical and complementary (Stevenson 1995: 56-70). While women were part of decision-making and could be ritual specialists, they were also less powerful and deferential to men (Stevenson 1995: 59, 60, 62). She argued for a multiplicity of situations and that change was amoeba-like as opposed to linear (Stevenson 1995: 57, 65, 71), a significant point. Judith Stevenson clearly demonstrated that women were ritual specialists and highlighted the androcentric focus of previous research as well as the assumptions that were made in gendering paintings of humans. For example, we cannot conclusively argue that all paintings of figures wearing full *karosses* [leather cloaks] are male (Stevenson 1995: 50-84).

She agreed with Anne Solomon's interpretation of certain seated figures with pubic emissions being closely associated with girl's puberty rites but placed her interpretation within a shamanistic context arguing for the notion of the control of strong potency. Thus, the connection between girls at puberty and rain ritual specialists is emphasised because both are responsible for controlling strong potency (Stevenson 1995: 98). Judith Stevenson argued that gynandromorphic (both male and female) and ambiguous (neither male nor female) figures are painted gendered metaphors that can be understood in relation to girls' puberty rites, boys' first kill rites, and ritual specialists, all of whom control supernatural potency that can be dangerous.

Not all of her interpretations of selected paintings are convincing because it is difficult to demonstrate clearly that paintings of ‘genital emissions’ are paintings of menstrual blood or that paintings of bows and arrows held by ‘female’ figures are linked to boys’ first kill rites. This is the central challenge of interpreting rock paintings and the reason for David Lewis-Williams’ (1998) argument for focused polysemy. We need to identify an object or figure clearly, and then demonstrate how and why it is associated with some specific thing and not another specific thing. For example, the figures in Stevenson’s Figures 6, 14, and 15 (Fig. 10) could all be argued to be wearing back aprons which male ritual specialists sometimes did (Eastwood 2008), and not represent vulvas with menstrual blood. The gynandromorphic? therianthrope of Figure 16 has what I argue to be spoor, possibly eland spoor, that are painted up the left leg and segue into zig-zag lines that may be more closely allied to potency and rain than “scarification symbols of female potency” (Stevenson 1995: 123), or both (Fig. 10).

Things do not become true through assertion and while there is much evidence for the privileging of female puberty rites in the ethnography, we must cogently demonstrate how this would or could be painted. Additionally, we cannot assume a 1:1 correlation between the ethnography and the paintings. Further, the ethnography was recorded in recent times and we know some of the paintings are far older. This means that we must demonstrate the underlying structures in the older paintings are like those in the more recent ethnography, which I detail in the next chapter.



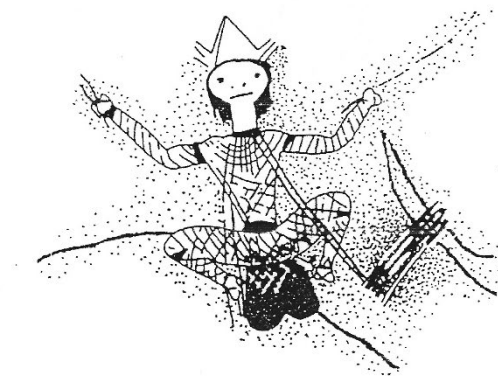
a. Stevenson Figure 6: back apron? top right.



b. Stevenson Figure 14: back apron?



c. Stevenson Figure 15: back apron?



d. Stevenson Figure 16: spoor becoming zig-zags?

Figure 10: Judith Stevenson's (1995) Figures illustrating what she argues are vulvas with menstrual blood (a-c) and 'scarification symbols of female potency'(d).

Judith Stevenson's important contribution lies in the critical points she makes as follows:

- Binary interpretations of belief systems are artificial;
- The San were not simply egalitarian but show elements of complementarity and hierarchy;
- The status of people is a factor in rock art;
- There is a multiplicity of gender constructions in rock art;
- Sexing animals for a more nuanced interpretation of rock arts is important;
- San metaphor is related to notions of strong potency and its control.

John Parkington

At approximately the same time and working in the Western Cape, John Parkington (1996), argued certain paintings reflect a reference to "*capacity rather than performance*" (Parkington 1996: 286), similar to ethnographic material collected in both northern and southern San communities. John

Parkington does not include sexing of animals and focuses on the predominant number of paintings of people as opposed to animals, of which males with penises are painted three times more than females with breasts or large buttocks (Parkington 1996: 286). Like Anne Solomon (1992), he highlighted the detailed nakedness of paintings of male and female figures which he argued references their sexuality and, because there are no paintings of sexual acts, implies a capacity for sex – *“it is hard to escape the conclusion that what is meant is the capacity for sexual engagement, a reference to sexually charged roles”* (Parkington 1996: 286), but does not say why this must be so.

John Parkington allied this idea to the lack of paintings of men hunting with a bow and arrow while there are many examples of paintings of men, bows, arrows and animals together. The hunting role of men and the sexual role of women is thus emphasised by the paintings which he further links to *n!ao* beliefs (Parkington 1996: 287-289). The connection between semen and poison and blood/menstruation emphasise important avoidances that sexually mature San men and women must adhere to. The association of women with meat and men with hunting point to complementary roles that bring focus to issues of power and issues of gender (Parkington 1996: 289). Thus, John Parkington (1996: 289) concludes the paintings of the Western Cape are predominantly focused on appropriate behaviour for adults, and if this is the case, are political. It is difficult to give an informed critique of his manuscript because he did not publish any examples of the rock paintings to which he referred. However, some of the questions he asked are critical. Following Anne Solomon, he questioned the reasons for painting people naked and not in loincloths and aprons as is ethnographically recorded and seemingly most practical, although his assumption that naked people refer to sexuality and the capacity for sex may say more about modern notions of nakedness than them. Another critically important aspect of his argument is his analyses of the ‘production and consumption’ of the rock paintings as having a political element.

Sven Ouzman

In the only published southern African volume of gender-focused research, Sven Ouzman (1997) argued for the multiplicity of understandings and experiences of gender by examining bored stones and their representations in San rock paintings. Sven Ouzman examined historical and ethnographic accounts to demonstrate the many uses of bored stones, and their associations with the work of ritual specialists. These uses and associations are linked to both men and women (Ouzman 1997: 76-91). He further examined San rock paintings from the Free State, Kwa-Zulu-Natal, and the Eastern Cape, which differ because they appear to portray digging sticks with bored stones predominantly with

paintings of women: “*No identifiable males have, to my knowledge, been recorded in association with bored stones*” (Ouzman 1997: 94), a conclusion supported by my research (Chapter 4). He recognised that this repeated gendered association represents an attempt by artists to paint a type of gender agency. He further provided two examples of rock paintings of gender-neutral figures and an engraving of gynandromorphs associated with digging sticks with bored stones. He argued that the ability of ritual specialists to experience multiple or no-gender whilst in altered states of consciousness is reflected in these representations which engages “*the negotiation and (re)construction of gender identities*” (Ouzman 1997: 104). For these reasons he argued that gender in San rock arts should be understood as contingent and contextual – we should allow for multiple, but not unlimited, understandings.

This conclusion emphasises the danger of simple ascriptions of gender with material culture. Sven Ouzman recognised the problem of using ethnographies recorded after San experienced contact with other groups, for material culture which could be pre-contact. His study is also important because it is the first to highlight the potential of variable experiences of gender in altered states and he demonstrated the importance of investigating gender within the experiences of ritual specialists. However, he does not explain why ritual specialists would want access to “*innumerable networks of social relations*” (Ouzman 1997: 103).

Tilman Lenssen-Erz

Based in the Brandberg, Namibia, Tilman Lenssen-Erz (1997) examined approximately 10,000 figures recorded by Harald Pager and how they are portrayed with a focus on understanding unsexed figures. The states of action (seated, walking, running, sprinting), the coloured pigment used, and grouping of figures formed part of his analysis. He linked these action states to concepts, and concluded that men are the specialists of everyday, women the specialists of the extraordinary, and unsexed figures the generalists of everyday (Lenssen-Erz 1997: 150). He argued unsexed figures point to a non-conflicting third gender. Tilman Lenssen-Erz did not use evidence from ethnography nor neuropsychological research to support his argument. His work is important because it shows the difficulties of obtaining ‘meaning’ from paintings without ethnographic or theoretical support. Suggesting that unsexed figures are an earlier tradition which was later replaced by sexed figures, as well as arguing that unsexed figures symbolise the “*forming of community*” (Lenssen-Erz 1997: 151), are mere assumptions because no independent validating evidence is presented.

Lara Mallen

Near the turn of the last century, researchers showed the usefulness of using ethology in combination with ethnography to interpret various rock paintings across southern Africa (Ouzman 1996; Eastwood & Cnoops 1999; Hollmann 2002; Mguni 2005; Eastwood 2006). This use of natural modelling inspired Lara Mallen (2005) in her investigation of a painting of a female puffadder found in a rock shelter of the southern Drakensberg (Area 1). Her contribution is significant because she identified the sex of the painted animal and considered the implications of what this sexing had on interpreting the nuances of the painting. Lara Mallen used San ethnography to argue the painting is of a female rain snake and linked to the dangerous levels of potency associated with rain and women. She argued the focus of this painting is on the ritual specialist harnessing supernatural potency to bring rain as well as the ritual specialist's ability to control these potentially dangerous forms of potency. This piece of research is an excellent example of the advantages of considering sex and gender in rock art interpretation. Unfortunately, Lara Mallen did not consider the reasons for rain specialists portrayed in this way, nor the implications on identity and status, and the social roles that may be referenced, both for the community and the ritual specialist.

Edward Eastwood

In a series of papers, Edward Eastwood (2005, 2006, 2008) used evidence from the sex, gender, and behaviour portrayed in San paintings of people and animals in the Central Limpopo Basin (CLB) to establish the primacy of girls' puberty rites in the rock paintings of this area. In his final paper (2008) he investigated gender and the rituals associated with men and women which he situated within a shamanistic understanding, extending Judith Stevenson's (1995) argument. Edward Eastwood used a hermeneutic approach and ethnography from northern and central San groups in an analysis of over 12,000 painted images of these Khoe-speaking San. Of the image classes he identified, paintings of people dominate at 60.7%. Second are paintings of indeterminate antelope at 12.8% and third, paintings of stand-alone loincloths and aprons 3.2%, categorised as the clothing motif (Eastwood 2008: 130-132). These percentages are dramatically different to those found in the northern and southern Drakensberg where paintings of people and animals are within 10% (Vinnicombe 1976: 362; Lewis-Williams 1981a: 134-135; but see Area 2). No extensive surveys have been undertaken in the Drakensberg for the clothing motif (but see Green & Eastwood 2008) and it currently appears unlikely they occur in the same numbers as the CLB. Edward Eastwood (2008: 131) identified seven groups of associations of paintings of loincloths and aprons:

1. without any associated imagery;
2. associated with paintings of men and women;
3. associated with a limited range of painted animals viz. kudu, giraffe, hartebeest/tsessebe, elephant and felines, in that order;
4. associated with the symbolism of the trance dance and ritual specialists' experiences;
5. associated with girls' puberty rites or the symbolism associated with these rites;
6. associated with hunting;
7. associated with the symbolism of the trance dance together with girls' puberty rite symbolism.

He argued the male domain of the medicine dance and hunting, and the female domain of puberty rites and gathering, are interlinked by networks of supernatural potency (Eastwood 2008: 141-142). Thus, the paintings of this area may have a comparable structure to folk tales where, as Edward Eastwood quotes from Megan Bieseke (1993:98):

Men have trance-curing and hunting. Women have childbirth and plant food gathering. All are indispensable ingredients of traditional Bushman subsistence and social life. Their symbolisms interact to form the basis of the major themes of Bushman art and folklore.

He concluded that the clothing motif connotes men, women, animals, and the environment, and their relationships with each other drawn powerfully together by supernatural and sexual potency (Eastwood 2008: 142). The implications of his conclusion are that the rock art of the CLB is not dominantly focused on ritual specialists and their experiences of supernatural potency but rather men and women associated with both types of potency – *n!ao* and *n/um* (Eastwood 2008: 142; *N/um* is the supernatural potency acquired and used by ritual specialists; it is known as *!gi* in /Xam [Lewis-Williams 1981a: 77]).

Edward Eastwood's research is an important contribution to gender research which resulted in a contextual, challenging interpretation of the San rock paintings of the CLB. His untimely death meant no further research in this area. I am uneasy when researchers argue for the male and female in opposition to one another, and certainly in the paintings he presented, the situation appears more complex. I also question whether separating puberty rites from the work of ritual specialists is supported – his evidence suggests that we should not separate domains, or perhaps even categorise these rituals as domains. Additionally, very few of the loincloths and aprons appear to be painted identically. These items of clothing may well identify specific ritual specialists or people working and living in the community. Furthermore, Edward Eastwood does not show paintings of women ritual specialists in the CLB and how these paintings compare to paintings of women and girls during puberty rites.

THE PROBLEMS WITHIN THE PROBLEM

My presentation of previous research shows certain problems which keep exerting an influence on investigating gender in the past which I now present.

Gender bias

We cannot assume binary understandings of gender, nor gender roles (Gero 1991; Wadley 1998; Kuhn & Stiner 2001, 2006). As Elizabeth Brumfiel and Cynthia Robin (2008: 4) argue: *“current practices and beliefs that appear to represent unbroken continuity with the past should continually be tested against archaeological evidence”*. Neither can we assume that paintings of people without clothes emphasise their sexuality, and potential for sex (*contra* Parkington 1996; Eastwood 2008). Similarly, we must be cautious in gendering equipment and clothing (Ouzman 1997) – paintings of bows and arrows may not be a direct reference to men, and the emphasis may not be on gender, but age or status. Additionally, how we use gendered beliefs of the present to explain those of the past is fraught.

They were also grappling with what Handsman (1980b) has described as a state of “twinship”, an epistemological dilemma endemic to whole anthropological enterprise of understanding other cultures. Such understanding depends on the possibility of rendering these cultures intelligible to us, and this process, it was realised, inevitably involves some degree of distortion – specifically, distortion that obscures crucial differences between the investigator’s culture of orientation and the cultures they study (Wylie 2002: 154).

Bias

Few authors emphasise the importance of fieldwork and working within a region. Related to spending time with our evidence *in situ* is considering sites as part of larger site complexes (see Witelson 2018). Previous research has been inclined to be selective in the choice of paintings that are presented, usually those which are believed to best support an argument, and the many other paintings considered extraneous are discarded (see Lewis-Williams 1981a; Solomon 1992; Stevenson 1995; Eastwood 2008). I realise this is dependent on the questions asked because often ‘themes’ in paintings are selected and explanations sought. This selectivity may also be a hang-over from the positivist endeavour to become more ‘scientific’ and enable generalisations about the past (see Wylie 2002: 154). Research appears to have progressed to the point where we can extend and develop making detailed analyses of sites in specific places/areas, and compare these analyses to sites in adjacent places/areas, to enable more contextual understandings of the differences between the different groups of San living in southern Africa.

Reflexivity, learning, and epistemic provisionalism

And I return to the importance of epistemic provisionalism and the way in which each of the authors I have presented has been influenced by the work of those preceding. This learning is critical for us to improve our archaeological practice, to ask different questions, and find new ways of answering those questions. It also highlights the feminist call for self-reflexivity. In being critically self-conscious, and open about the logic and processes we use, we are better able to judge their efficacy and ability to find a middle ground – what feminists describe as mitigated relativism or strong objectivity (Wylie 2002; Harding 2004).

As Leone observes, “we know artifacts never speak for themselves: we have to give them meaning” (1981a: 12), and this process of giving artifacts meaning depends on what we think we understand about familiar forms of production, social organization, and kinship or economic relations. Critical self-consciousness about the interested nature of archaeological inquiry focuses attention on the assumptions that inform this transposition of familiar to unfamiliar; its central goal is to “raise hidden assumptions to the surface” (Leone 1981a: 14)... Leone and Handsman make it clear that these submerged premises, and not just the interpretive conclusions they support, should be the object of rational, empirical investigation. Only when archaeology is practiced with this degree of self-consciousness can it become a basis for criticism in the second sense: critical commentary on the social, ideological forms that have informed the reconstructions of “a past thought essential for our self-definition” (Leone 1981a: 12) (Wylie 2002: 160).

This quote provides background to the methodology feminists have suggested in approaching the past, and in ameliorating and dealing with some of the problems I have exposed in the study of gender in fine-line rock paintings. I describe this methodology and how it has determined my specific field and analytical methods in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Methods: Material entanglements

This openness to learning from perspectives that diverge from our own embodies an epistemic principle that is at least as central to the traditions of inquiry we consider scientific as those captured by the tenets of Boghossian's "classical picture of knowledge": the commitment to hold open to critical scrutiny even our most deeply held convictions, including foundational epistemic and methodological norms.

Alison Wylie 2015: 201

WORKING THROUGH THE PROBLEMS

This chapter is focused on my methodology and method and the constraints and affordances of such to access, as well as partially understand, gender and agency in the rock paintings of the research areas. In Chapter 2, I emphasised the importance of theory and how it affects every stage of the research process. I described feminist standpoint theory and its relevance for researching the past, as well as our practice in the present. My review of southern African engendered fine-line rock art research highlighted various problems with bias, selective interpretations, and the importance of epistemic provisionalism and self-reflexivity, which are largely methodological. I follow Sandra Harding's (1987: 2) description of:

- theory as epistemological (our justification strategies);
- methodology as the theory and analysis of how research should proceed;
- method as how we gather our evidence.

I recognise that theory, methodology, and method inform each other – they are entangled – and while I present them as separate elements of the research process, they are actually inseparable. I present them separately to ensure that all stages of my research process are visible and open to critical scrutiny and reflexivity; my own and that of others.

The research I described shows that knowledge is situated – each author used different theories and methodologies that were specific to their context, and thus partial. This meant that this partiality produced different interpretations from the same or similar evidence, but were they all valid? Feminists refute the relativist position that 'anything goes', or, that all explanations or interpretations are valid. Strong objectivity is judged according to the epistemic values of "*empirical adequacy, explanatory power, internal coherence, consistency with other established bodies of knowledge*"

(Crasnow *et al* 2015: 32). The first of these is generally privileged above the others, “*a theory must fit the phenomena*” (Crasnow *et al* 2015: 32), but as Alison Wylie demonstrates (2004: 345), empirical adequacy is also ambiguous. It can refer to empirical depth – trueness to a variety of localised evidence, or, empirical breadth – the claims can be extended to other domains. Interests or standpoints inform our justifications: “*Impartial science need not be neutral*” (Crasnow *et al* 2015: 28). Thus, what is crucial, is how we measure and judge this empirical process. To do so, Alison Wylie formulated and refined the argument and process for mitigated relativism, mitigated objectivity or strong objectivity which she calls the consilience model of confirmation (Wylie 1985, 1988, 1989, 1992b, 2002).

The consilience model of confirmation

Most archaeologists rely heavily on analogy (Wylie 2002: 115-161) – we use evidence or established understandings to explain or interpret something we do not yet understand. Based on the work of Robin Collingwood (1946) and Richard Bernstein (1976, 1983) Alison Wylie has established and refined the argument and process for mitigated relativism which she calls the ‘consilience model of confirmation’ (Crasnow *et al* 2015: 24). This model proposes that the theories and evidence we use to interpret our data must be secure and independent (Wylie 2002: 152-153; Potter 2006: 65-75; Crasnow *et al* 2015: 24). The evidence we use must be secure in that it is credible, and the inferences we make using this evidence involve unique and deterministic links, and short and simple argument chains. For example, neuropsychological research is used as a supporting line of evidence for understanding certain paintings of ritual specialists in the Drakensberg range (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1988, 1990). This evidence is credible because empirical studies have demonstrated that the human nervous system is common to all anatomically and cognitively modern humans for at least the last 100,000 years (Lewis-Williams 2002: 101-135; Winkelman 2002, 2015, 2017; Hageman *et al* 2010) and operates in the same ways at a general level when people enter and experience altered states of consciousness. We can thus infer that experiences of altered states of consciousness would have been similar for San in the Drakensberg by using short argument chains – we are all human and the evidence is physiological. This line of evidence is secure and fits with the current understanding and available dating of Drakensberg fine-line rock art as Holocene in age (Bonneau *et al* 2017).

The evidence we use must also be independent in three different ways. First, the background assumptions we use must be independent of the theory being constructed and be credible themselves. Second, these assumptions or lines of evidence must be secured independently of each other. Third, these lines of evidence must not rely on each other to be confirmed (Crasnow *et al* 2015:

25). The neuropsychological evidence is independent because it is credibly proven by a separate, non-archaeological empirical science. It is not dependent on any other theory to be secure and, is also not dependent on any other lines of evidence, such as ethnography or rock paintings. Thus, this line of evidence is independent in all three ways.

The evidence from neuropsychology is used with others: ethnography, historical documentation, and fine-line paintings for example, which should all be scrutinised in the same way. The more lines of evidence we can use that converge, the greater the soundness of our conclusions (Green 2015). It also means that if one line of evidence is shown to be faulty, the other lines of evidence provide continued support for the conclusion. This is where analogical arguments can be successful because of the use of multiple sources that enable and constrain what we can and cannot assume about the past.

These strategies will never establish interpretive conclusions with certainty, but they do offer a viable alternative to “artefact physics” on the one hand, and unconstrained speculation on the other. They are strategies for eliminating error and assessing likelihood, improving credibility and delimiting uncertainty, in a field in which the most interesting questions inevitably lead beyond the safety of clear-cut, empirically secure answers (Wylie 2002: 153).

I apply these procedures for the evidence I use in my investigation of San attitudes to and beliefs of gender depicted in their rock paintings and detail the problems and limitations in the description of my methods. I turn to these now.

METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

All method is subjective and dependent on the questions we ask and the way in which we ask them (Wylie 1982; Lewis-Williams 1984a; Wylie 1985; Lewis-Williams & Loubser 1986; Wylie 1986; Harding 1987; Harraway 1988; Gero & Conkey 1991). I am not only interested in what a painted image ‘means’ but also why the artist made the choices they did in selecting what they painted, the techniques they used to make that painting, and where it was placed in a site. Further, I want to know what these choices tell us about the person and the group. We know from archaeological evidence such as the engraved Klasies River Mouth and Blombos ochres that people began to use symbols at least 77,000 years ago and possibly 125,000 years ago (Henshilwood *et al* 2011; Rifkin 2012; Berger *et al* 2015; Putt *et al* 2017). We infer that by using symbols people had ideas about self- and group- identity (Henshilwood *et al* 2011). We know that all rock art traditions within southern Africa can tell us something about how people conceived of themselves (Ouzman 2003). The artists made choices of what to paint and what not to paint.

These choices can also shed light on the artists' constructions of sex and gender. For my study, I test whether we can move beyond the identified selective bias towards an understanding of how the specific people in the specific research areas thought about and, perhaps used, gender in the selected rock paintings. To do so, I also test quantitative and qualitative methods to collect my evidence, which consists primarily of 2852 rock paintings from Area 1 and Area 2 (Fig. 2).

Quantitative and qualitative methods

Site selection

I chose two adjacent research areas, the high Drakensberg surrounding Barkly East and Maclear (Area 1; Fig. 2) and the lower lying areas around Aliwal North and Jamestown (Area 2), to enable a comparison of the evidence from each area. The two areas are within two to three days' walk of each other (approx. 85 km) and people may well have moved from the high Drakensberg to these lower lying and warmer areas during extreme cold periods, or traded extensively with them to ensure their sustainability (see Mazel 2009: 104). If they were different groups of San, they would have knowledge of each other, assuming these areas were occupied at the same time (Chapter 1). I recorded every identifiable painting in 21 randomly selected sites. I define a 'site' as a shelter or overhang where one or more paintings have been placed and acknowledge sites may not be neatly bounded entities nor considered sites by past people (see Witelson 2018: 16).

To select sites, I printed all the site names that have been recorded in these selected areas from the African Rock Art Digital Archive (SARADA), 218 from Area 1, and 116 from Area 2. These site names were placed in a hat and my research assistant, Jonathan Sephton, blindly chose twenty sites – ten from each area. During my fieldwork, we could not find two of these sites. One in Area 1, where the GPS coordinates were incorrect, and the other in Area 2 without GPS coordinates where we believe the shelter may have collapsed. I recorded an additional three sites as they were en-route to some of the randomly identified sites giving me a total of 11 sites from Area 1 and 10 from Area 2. In one of the sites in Area 1, I was able to discern paintings of animals only. My fieldwork strategy was approved by my supervisors and is compliant with UNISA's research ethics policy (Unisa Policy on Research Ethics 2016; see also Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) Code of Ethics). I obtained permission from the 17 landowners of the randomly chosen sites and invited them and their staff to participate in my site recording, of which four did. All landowners and interested parties were given copies of a rock art information booklet (Green 2014) that I produced detailing the various rock art traditions found in the area. They were also given site specific information and copies

of the photographs I took. I do not provide co-ordinates for the sites here, in keeping with rock art conservation, but these are lodged with the South African Heritage Resources Information System (SAHRIS) which is access controlled.

Site recording

Site and rock art recording are subjective and influenced by a researcher's interests, the quality of light when recording, and the fitness of the researcher. Recording techniques change and advance, so the detailing we can now access, through software such as DStretch® (Mark & Billo 2002; Whitley 2011; Harman 2013; Hollmann 2018), means that fuller representations of painted sites are possible. Standard details were captured for each site – my name and the date of the recording, coordinates and map number, aspect, type of shelter and size, landowner, surface archaeology, damage, archaeological deposit, painting traditions, surface features, site conservation and tracing (Fig. 11; Appendix B).

GENERAL INFORMATION AND NOTES							
Property/ Contact details: Site no:		Env. Damage Fire Water Animal		Surface features: stone walling fallen rock		Site conservation water animals insects people vegetation	
Map no. & GPS River:		Human damage: graffiti vandalism removal		Arch. Deposit		Surface arch: bored stone lithics bedding hearth beads pottery bone	
Recorded by: Date:		Dating? Condition:		Traditions: San KK Historical other		Other:	
Site Type: boulder cave overhang		Aspect: Length Depth Height		Tracing date: Name: Photo no's:			
DESCRIPTION OF SITE, CLUSTERS AND PAINTED CONTEXTS:							

Figure 11: Example of site recording form (Appendix B).

Rock art recording

All identifiable paintings were recorded in each site. I worked from right to left, top to bottom. By 'identifiable' I mean that there is enough pigment to warrant a confident identification as human or animal or other (material culture, geometric, and so forth). I then narrowed that identification down – what type of human, animal, or other. Often white pigments, which seem to have the largest grain size and poorest adhesive qualities, are the first to fade, so that antelope remain as a body only, with no legs, neck, or head. At times it is possible to identify these antelope to species because of other paintings of antelope within the site. In these cases where the paint was either faded or worn, I could only record whether the painting was human or animal with no other details. If an image was not clear I did not merely assume it was one thing or another. I photographed (p. 55) every image in each site and kept a log of these photographs. I did not photograph the paintings with a scale bar because it can obscure images as well as damage the paintings.

In identifying gender and sex in rock paintings, we have to consider if the people of this area had categories of male/female, boys/men/girls/women and combinations of these, as well as how they would choose to depict these categories. Regarding humans and animals, these questions can be answered only once the paintings are recorded. Thus, I created – *a priori* – as many categories as I could think of in recording sex and gender based on previous experience. For humans: human with breasts – breasts drooping, breasts not drooping – human with large buttocks but no breasts, human with penis – penis flaccid, penis erect, massive penis, infibulated penis – gynandromorph (humans painted with a penis and breasts), indeterminate (no penis nor breasts). The nature of my surveys was to test, albeit with some initial framing, thus any category not initially established could be added (see Chapter 4). I provide numbers for all categories except body decoration, people and animal associations where I give the site percentages. I do so to obtain a more accurate representative sample. For example, in a number of sites there are many figures painted next to a single animal. If I present the total number of this association it implies a dominance where none may exist. That animal may only be painted in a single site.

Recording human figures

I used two separate sheets to record humans and non-human animals (Fig. 12; Appendix B). In the case of humans, distinguishing sexual features, age (baby, child, adult), layer (bottom, middle, top), colour, pigment type, technique (mono-, bi-, polychrome, shaded etc), therianthrope, type of therianthrope (body and head details), body posture, body position, depicted alone, twos, threes,

groups, circle, semi-circle, or row/s, body decoration, head details, facial features, bleeding, wearing, carrying, holding, touching, polymelia, attenuation, entering or exiting feature in rock face, superpositioning, what they were painted next to and the larger painted contexts.

HUMANS	Site no:	Human penis:	Human breasts:	Human l. Buttocks	Other?	Child	Baby	human indeterminate	Therianthrope	Antelope legs	Antelope arms	Antelope head	Other head	Other body	Winged	Colour:	Pigment type:	Technique:	Layer	Breasts drooping	Breasts high up	Age indeterminate	Penis erect:	Penis flaccid:	Penis infibulated:	Massive penis	Standing	Bent forward:	Walking:	Running:	Sitting:	Dancing	Kneeling:

Figure 12: Example of recording sheet for paintings of humans (partial; Appendix B).

Recording animal figures

I used a similar structure for recording animals. Species, sex if possible, age if possible, conflation of species, layer, colour, pigment type, technique (mono-, bi-, polychrome, shaded), body posture, body position (behaviour), depicted alone, twos, threes, groups, circle, semi-circle, or row/s, body decoration, head details, bleeding (from nose or body), touching/being touched, polymelia, entering or exiting feature in rock face, superpositioning, what they were painted next to and the painted contexts (Fig. 13; Appendix B). I recognise that the paintings are not necessarily photo-realistic, and artists could have chosen to be specifically vague and even conflate species or depict animals not of this earth such as the ‘rain animal’ (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 92-95; Mallen 2005), but previous research has shown that there is often a striking attention to detail based on observation of animals in the wild. While I am confident in identifying and sexing animals found in the research areas, I also sought the opinion of Dr Nico Avenant and Basil Mills. Nico Avenant is the zoologist at the National Museum, Bloemfontein, and Basil Mills is a conservationist based in Grahamstown. Before undertaking my fieldwork, I ensured that I had a good working knowledge of the sexual dimorphism from texts and photographs/videos of the commonly painted antelope of my research area. I have also spent some time observing Eland (*Taurotragus oryx*), Grey Rhebok (*Pelea capreolus*), and Mountain Reedbuck (*Redunca fulvorufula*) in their natural habitat.

When possible, I identified the sex of other animals with the assistance of Nico Avenant and field guides as listed. I recognise the vagaries of paint and the fact that painted horns could well have faded. I checked each antelope carefully using a magnifying glass (Balloon 4x magnification) to check for paint residues.

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Figure 13: Example of recording sheet for paintings of animals (partial; Appendix B).

Recording technologies

I did not trace paintings at any of the sites because, other than the destruction it can inadvertently cause, I did not believe it would add any further detail to my investigation and significantly, the time required to redraw imagery would be more than allowed for by a Master's study. Furthermore, with the advancements in digital photography details of paintings are clearly presented and accessible to all viewers. I used three cameras to record the paintings: Iphone 6S: 12 megapixel camera; Huawei P9 Lite 13 megapixel camera; and a Canon Powershot A490: 10 megapixel camera. I used the DStretch® plugin for ImageJ® (Whitley 2011; Harman 2013; Hollmann 2018) to enhance the images. DStretch® uses decorrelation stretch to enhance colours and show details not seen by the naked eye such as penises, breasts, and horns (Harman 2013; Hollmann 2018; Fig. 14). I state under each figure what colouration I have used in capital letter abbreviations. Where possible, I illustrate the paintings using original-colour photographs.

Data management

I transferred the site information recorded into spreadsheets in Microsoft Excel after each field excursion. Each site is stored in a separate folder with the photographs; copies of which are stored on a separate hard drive. All the sites I recorded are available on SARADA except for the ones I found (n=2). My data and records will be stored on SAHRIS, which does not give out precise locations in order to protect sites from unauthorised visitation, but which other researchers can access.

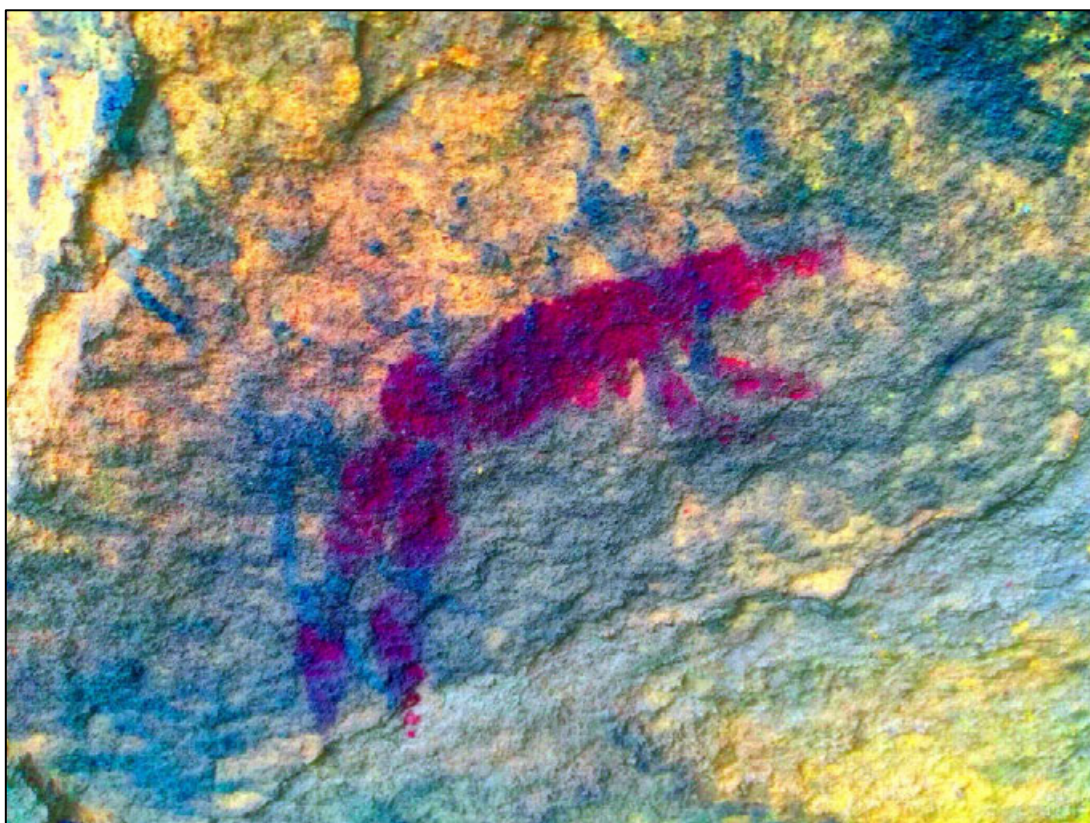


Figure 14: Example of clarity provided by Dstretch: painting of figure with breasts. Original top, Dstretch LDS bottom.

Numerical analysis

There is very little baseline data for sex and gender in Eastern Cape Drakensberg rock art thus I consider my quantitative study to be necessary (Appendix C). I also wanted to test the applicability of using a quantitative approach in ameliorating bias. Studies either focus on paintings of specific images that occur collectively over wide areas (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004), or in set areas (Challis 2008), and usually it is the similarities that are emphasised. I tested whether recording all paintings of humans and their painted contexts, both the similarities and differences, can give a more accurate representation of gender conventions. It may also highlight areas needing further research. Additionally, I wanted to test if this approach could provide an indication of different groups of San expressing their identity differently in different areas. The categories I constructed were also tested against the ethnography and in the detailed site comparison.

The results of numerical analyses need interpretation (Drennan 2009: 128, 160-162; also Fletcher & Lock 2005: 12-13, 64-65; Taper & Ponciano 2015; Baxter & Cool 2016; Mojirsheibani & Reese 2017). For example, 90.5% of the sites I recorded contain paintings of bent-forward human figures although bent-forward figures constitute 10.3% of all human figures recorded in my sample. Related to this is the issue of number. While there is some significance to finding large numbers of a specific type, we can argue significance for single instances, such as the rare ochre pieces found in Middle Stone Age research (also Dowson 1988; Duff *et al* 1992: 214).

Further testing with detailed site comparison

I test my results further in a detailed analysis of all paintings in two subjectively chosen sites from each area. I chose two medium-sized sites in terms of size and as a middle ground that has sufficient painted evidence to make meaningful comparisons: BOP1 from Area 1 (site dimensions 11 x 3.5 x 7m), and LEL4 from Area 2 (site dimensions 12.4 x 4.4 x 3m). In the former, I recorded 78 paintings of humans and 64 animals. The latter, 110 paintings of humans and 87 animals. My aim was twofold. First, I could test my method of recording sites, especially in BOP1 because it was overcast and raining, with poor light, when I recorded it initially. I also had the DStretch® application downloaded on my Iphone which I had not had before. Due to this, I recorded an additional 15% figures, and 12% animals. Second, the analysis would test if the patterns I had identified between the two areas held true, and through assessing the similarities and differences highlight other concerns, both in method and interpretation, I may have missed.

Historical records

I have studied the historical information produced by early travellers to South Africa as well as maps produced for this area. Other than my focus on gender I believe it important to recognise that the people living in South Africa were not isolated and ignorant of others. People travelled widely and were multilingual (Bleek & Lloyd 1911; Silberbauer 1981: 193; Sealy 2006; Barnard 2007: 130; Chapter 1). Available dates from adjacent rock art to the last 3000 years strongly suggests local San knew about other African groups to the north.

I have used historical accounts of the research areas to obtain a more detailed understanding of the people living in and moving through these areas (Chapter 1). I have also collected information, diaries, and oral history, from families I know living in these areas (Chapter 1). All historical accounts and oral histories need a cautious approach in analysis (Little 1992, 1994, 2006: 396 – 397; D’Agostino 1995: 119; Kepecs 1997). I do not privilege written accounts because many times these are merely a person’s experience and opinion and no different to oral accounts (see Wylie 2015: 199). I also recognise that sometimes authors wrote what they believed their audiences wanted to hear (Joyce 2002). I vehemently reject the racist, colonialist, and elitist mindset of many of the authors to whom I refer.

Ethnography

To explain the results from my research I also analysed the ethnography of both northern and southern San, especially the latter because they are the closest geographically to the people of the research areas. Of the southern San ethnography (Bleek & Lloyd Collection; Orpen 1874; Bleek 1956) I have primarily focused on the Bleek and Lloyd collection because it is available in the original /Xam and simply, there is far more information. I examined the ethnography for categories of male/female/girls/women/boys/men. I looked at how men and women were presented in stories and accounts and the potential for these presentations to provide information on gender beliefs.

To judge the secureness and independence of the ethnography is complicated because the ethnography was produced in conditions that are not empirically testable nor replicable (see Skotnes 1996; Taussig 2011; McGranaghan 2012; Deacon & Skotnes 2014: xiii). Each collection or piece of ethnography needs to be understood in the context in which it was produced and what factors, such as power relations, gender and other identities, world-view, miscommunication, the abstraction of writing down spoken words in another language, and the spectre of colonial and imperial violence,

that were in play (Moran 2009). Additionally, as Mark McGranaghan (2012: 369) cautions: *“the absence of detailed specific ethnographic data for one society may serve to (re-)create more homogeneous identities than truly existed”*.

Shane Moran (2009) has shown the colonial and racist underpinnings of Wilhelm Bleek’s work. To this, consideration must be given to the lower status of women compared to men during the late 1800s (Trigger 2006: 173-176) and the ways in which these attitudes may affect the information acquired (see also Ouzman 1997: 76). I agree with Shane Moran (2009: 137-138) when he writes:

*With this criticism I do not intend to endorse the kind of allergic reaction that employs kettle logic against the apologetics of white researchers: that they replicate the power of colonialism by mediating the representation of its victims; even if they foreground the violence of colonial representation (and problematize their own role), they entrench the continuity of power residing in the hands of the beneficiaries of colonialism; they have not succeeded in recovering the authentic voice of those who have been silenced; if they had in fact attempted to recover such an authentic voice this would confirm the charge of presumptive (neo) colonialism. The cul-de-sac of biting academic politics is familiar enough. **But surely the postapartheid challenge is to interrogate rather than affirm the appeal of the benign allegory of the colonial intellectual, and the exclusions and silences left undisturbed under the cover of wishful thinking** (emphasis mine).*

It is very difficult to assess the impact of racial bias on the /Xam narratives because we have nothing to compare them with. There is no way of knowing how or if the stories and their content would have changed under different circumstances. Regarding gender, we do know that most of the narrators were men and this may have affected the subject matter of the narratives they chose to disclose, and as David Lewis-Williams suggests, they may also have censored these narratives (2018: 141; also Hewitt 1986: 193-194). David Lewis-Williams relates how Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd were aware of this gender bias, commenting on not being able to interview | | Kabbo’s wife who *“would have given us a great deal of information known only by the elder people, and especially by the old women”* (Bleek 1875: 5 cited by Lewis-Williams 1981a: 46). However, this statement also shows their own assumptions – that women would know more of ‘women’s issues’. There are similar problems with the information Joseph Orpen (1874) recorded from a San man Qing about the Mountain San who are closest geographically to Areas 1 and 2, and further, we do not have the original account, nor do we have access to the words that Qing used. Rather, it is Joseph Orpen’s interpretation of what Qing said. (I provide a critique of northern San ethnography in Chapter 5).

To use this San ethnography, collected from a specific area to explain the material culture of San in other areas, at other times, requires linkages and demonstration of the specific commonalities and underlying structures. For example, /Xam ritual specialists described the drawing out of sickness as snoring, which could be followed by a nosebleed (L. V.19. 5506-5536; see also Lewis-Williams 1981a: 78; Challis 2003: 28). I have identified figures, bent forward which is a pose of ritual specialists when accessing and regulating supernatural potency (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 38-49), holding sticks which are associated with ritual specialists (L V.22. 5755-5760), bleeding from the nose with their hands up to their noses. Using abductive reasoning, the 'best fit' explanation is that these paintings depict ritual specialists, and possibly those that heal, because there are no other ethnographically recorded instances of people in this posture, with this equipment, using or touching their noses in this way. Additionally, these bent forward ritual specialists are painted with other ritual specialists in trance poses which supports this interpretation – the underlying structure, that of the work of ritual specialists, is the same in both ethnography and paintings. If we identify these paintings in all layers painted on the rock face, we may also be able to assume these practices were pervasive and lasted some time. Thus, when we can demonstrate similar belief systems in San people in different areas and time, we can be reasonably confident in the conclusions we reach. Of further support to our arguments is the significance of animals, which species and sex are painted, and the behaviour they portray.

Ethology

I have already mentioned the importance of natural modelling, that artists painted animals to represent or emphasise specific elements of focus (for example Vinnicombe 1976; Lewis-Williams 1981a; Ouzman 1995; Mallen 2005; Challis 2008). I briefly consider paintings of animals, and the significance of their sex and behaviour to assess if these depictions can provide more information on San understandings of gender in these areas, which I explore in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Results:

Gender and rock painting entanglements

...although archaeological evidence is thoroughly laden with theory – although it is unavoidably a construct, open to question and revision – it can nonetheless impose decisive limitations on what can be claimed about past cultural systems, their internal dynamics, and their trajectories of development and transformation.

Wylie 2002: 185

CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE IN ROCK PAINTINGS

In this chapter I present my results from the categories of human figures I recorded: how they are sexed, how they are clothed, what they are carrying or holding, what body decoration they have, and what animals and people they are associated with. Then, to explain these results, I begin with an analysis of gender in the ethnography from the southern San. Using this ethnography, I explain the particular manner in which people are painted regarding their clothing, equipment, body decoration, and associated animals and people. This analysis results in a specific representation of personhood which I further explore in a detailed site analysis of one site in each research area – but informed by my recording and analysis of all 21 sites – to enable a deeper understanding of the complex gendered identities in rock paintings and the way in which these paintings may have been a controlling mechanism for women's potency.

Judith Stevenson (1995: 85) writes: *"Art does not, however, simply represent given categories for gender or identities, or even reproduce pre-existing gender ideologies. Rather, art participates in the construction of gender identity and is reinforcing as well as contesting"*. Thus, the paintings give us an opportunity to investigate the gendered entanglements of past peoples, and what they may have meant, without assuming what gender was. If all humans and animals are painted without sexual features, I suggest one of three things:

- that their gender is not important, or;
- their gender is extraneous to what is being communicated, or;
- they represent a gendered or other category (age, status) not immediately apparent.

If humans are painted with a penis or breasts it may indicate that something is being communicated about that figure being man or woman, and/or an additional element of their age and/or status, because they could be depicted without any sexual features, and, indeed, many are so depicted.

To determine these details of gender, age, and status, I recorded how the figures are represented: what clothing and/or body decoration they have, what they are carrying or touching, and what is painted around them. David Lewis-Williams (1992) has shown the difficulty with recording painting ‘episodes’ in sites, and what images are related to or associated with others. I agree that the paintings are active, and *“each shaman artist added his or her unique, often idiosyncratic, insights to a communal pool of religious knowledge and power on which all could draw”* (Lewis-Williams 1992: 26). For this reason and to establish the closest painted associations, I recorded all paintings within .5 m of a painting but recognise all paintings in a site may be associated. I also recognise that these associations do not necessarily result from a single, conscious painting episode, but can result from several different painting episodes. Nonetheless, these episodes are constrained temporally as a lower, middle, or upper layer and subsequent placement of images is very likely to be heavily influenced by previous imagery and placement.

I recorded a total of 1676 human figures (Appendices C, D, & E). Area 1 had the same number of paintings of people compared to animals (522:521 – 1:1), while Area 2 has substantially more people painted than animals (1154:655 – ~2:1; Table 3). Therianthropes are included with people. I define a therianthrope as a painting of a human figure where parts of the body are replaced with that of a non-human animal. While I present the therianthrope results, I do not interpret these results due to word limitations but highlight that these figures need further focused research (and see Chapter 5).

Table 3: Numbers of humans and animals per layer.

Category	Bottom layer Area 1	Percentage of total	Bottom layer Area 2	Percentage of total	Middle layers Area 1	Percentage of total	Middle layers Area 2	Percentage of total	Topmost layer Area 1	Percentage of total	Topmost layer Area 2	Percentage of total	GRAND TOTAL
Animals	154	13.1%	1	0.09%	322	27.38%	516	43.88%	45	3.83%	138	11.74%	1176
People	64	3.82%	7	0.42%	324	19.33%	639	38.13%	134	8%	508	30.31%	1676

I identified five general categories in paintings of people: indeterminate figures, figures with penises, figures with breasts, therianthropes, and seated figures clapping (with and without breasts). Each general category could be divided further (see Table 4). Most numerous are standing figures (n=519; 31%), followed by walking (n=400; 23.9%) and then running (n=261; 15.6%), except in the top-most painted layers where running figures (n=157; 24.5%) are marginally more numerous than those walking (n=137; 21.4%). The human figures are predominantly painted in groups (n=508; 30.3%), rows (n=377; 22.5%), stand-alone (n=211; 12.6%) and in twos (n=147; 8.8%). Very few figures are depicted lying down (n=13; 0.8%). I define a 'group' as more than two figures painted together but not in a row. 'Rows' are more than two figures painted one after the other, vertically, horizontally, or diagonally. I recorded figures in trance-performance poses in all sites. I include the following actions in trance-performance poses: arms straight out (either above, below or central to torso), arms bent up, arms back, bent forward, extreme bent forward, running, knees up, reverse articulated legs, standing/sitting front on with legs open, bleeding from nose, lines from heads, clapping (see Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 38-49). In the carrying/holding/other category I recorded 25 fly whisks, 25 spears, 9 Xhosa shields, 7 *knobkerries* [clubs], 6 axe-like objects, 2 indeterminate shields, 2 hockey stick-like objects, 2 hats?, 1 mace-like object, 1 Sotho shield, 1 sword-like object, and 1 whip-like object.

Table 4: Categories of humans and their total percentages.

Category	Total for Areas	Percentage of total
All figures	1676	100.0%
Indeterminate: tall & thin	1365	81.44%
Indeterminate: large buttocks	42	2.51%
Figure with penis	110	6.56%
Figure with breasts	46	2.74%
Therianthrope	79	4.71%
Therianthrope with penis	14	0.84%
Figures clapping	20	1.19%

Indeterminate human figures

Indeterminate human figures are those that are painted without any discernible sex. I distinguished two categories of indeterminate human figures, those usually depicted tall and thin, and those depicted with large buttocks.

Indeterminate figures: tall and thin

This category was the largest at 81.44% of all figures (n=1365; Table 5; Fig. 15). I use the descriptor 'tall and thin' loosely to contrast with the human figures which are depicted with large buttocks, thicker thighs and, at times, protruding stomachs.

Table 5: Results for indeterminate figures: tall and thin Area 1.

AREA 1				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 1	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Indeterminate	398	100%	29.16%	23.75%
Stick	116	29.2%	8.5%	
Quiver	41	10.3%	3.0%	
Arrows	22	5.5%	1.6%	
Bow	57	14.3%	4.2%	
Kaross	20	5%	1.5%	
Eared Cap	2	0.5%	0.1%	
Apron	4	1.0%	0.3%	

Table 5.1 Results for indeterminate figures: tall and thin Area 2.

AREA 2				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 2	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Indeterminate	967	100%	70.84%	57.7%
Stick	112	11.6%	8.2%	
Quiver	47	4.9%	3.4%	
Arrows	30	3.1%	2.2%	
Bow	55	5.7%	4.0%	
Kaross	22	2.3%	1.6%	
Eared Cap	4	0.4%	0.3%	
Apron	10	1.0%	0.7%	

**Table 5.2 Results for indeterminate figures: tall and thin body decoration and animal associations
Area 1 & 2.**

BODY DECORATION per site					ANIMAL ASSOCIATIONS per site			
Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage		Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage
INDETERMINATES	90.90%	100%	90.5		INDETERMINATES	90.9%	100%	90.5
Neck bands, wrist bands, arm bands, waist bands, knee bands, ankle bands	50%	80%	65%	1	Eland Male	100%	90%	95%
Spoor on legs	10%	0%	5%	2	Eland Female	90%	90%	90%
Stripes, zig-zags, crosses on legs	30%	10%	20%	3	Eland Indeterminate	90%	80%	85%
Bleeding from nose	50%	30%	40%	4	Antelope indeterminate	60%	90%	75%
Splayed fingers (not clapping)	0%	30%	15%	5	Rhebok female	50%	50%	50%
Dots on arms	10%	0%	5%	6	Rhebok male	10%	0%	5%
Tassels on body	20%	40%	30%	7	Mountain Reedbuck female	30%	0%	15%
Top knots	20%	0%	10%	8	Rhebok indeterminate	40%	50%	45%
Very long neck	10%	40%	25%	9	Feline	40%	70%	55%
Zig-zag on torso	0%	10%	5%	10	Snake	20%	20%	20%
Raised hairs on back	10%	0%	5%	11	Serpent	10%	20%	15%
Earrings	10%	0%	5%	12	Horse	30%	10%	15%
Very long arms	10%	10%	10%	13	Baboon	0%	10%	5%
Bandolier	10%	0%	5%	14	Moose (with teeth)	10%	10%	5%
Feathers	10%	10%	10%	15	Dog/jackal	20%	0%	10%
Detailed faces	20%	30%	25%	16	Rain animal	10%	20%	15%
Shoes?	10%	0%	5%	17	Termites	10%	0%	5%
Caps/hats?	20%	10%	15%	18	Hartebeest	10%	30%	20%
Arrows in body	10%	10%	10%	19	Cattle	10%	20%	15%
Touching animals	20%	40%	30%	20	Hippo	0%	30%	15%
Touching:				21	Elephant	0%	20%	10%
Eland indeterminate	10%	10%	10%	22	Fish	0%	10%	5%
Eland female	10%	10%	10%	23	Indeterminate animal	20%	70%	45%
Antelope indeterminate	0%	10%	5%	24	Zebra-type animal	0%	10%	5%
Snake	0%	10%	5%	25	Ostrich?	0%	10%	5%
Rhebok female	0%	10%	5%					



Figure 15: Examples of indeterminate figures: tall and thin painted from Area 1 (top), Area 2 (bottom, Dstretch AC).

Indeterminate figures tall and thin are mostly depicted naked, and both areas have a similar number of these figures wearing *karosses* (20:22 – in all cases numbers from Area 1 are presented first). I use ‘naked’ as an analytical category to signify ‘without clothes’ but recognise that for the San, scent and body decoration may have been understood as ‘clothing’ (Viestad 2018). Area 2 has more indeterminate tall and thin figures wearing women’s aprons than Area 1 (4:10). They are mostly depicted carrying/holding sticks without bored stones, bows, and quivers. I recorded a wider range of body decoration on indeterminate tall and thin figures in Area 1. Area 2 depicted more (2:4) of these figures touching animals. They are similarly associated with animals in both areas – mostly antelope especially eland and rhebok, as well as feline and indeterminate animals especially in Area 2. In both areas, indeterminate figures tall and thin were associated with the widest range of animals compared to other figures. They are mostly portrayed in rows and groups in both areas and in all sites associated with other indeterminate tall and thin figures (see Appendix E for people associations). In 60% of sites in both areas they are associated with figures with penises (Appendix E). In Area 2, 50% of the sites have indeterminate tall and thin figures associated with figures with breasts and 30% with figures with large buttocks. Therianthropes are associated with these figures in half the sites of both areas (50%: 40%).

Indeterminate figures: large buttocks

This is the third largest category I recorded in Area 2 (n=42), and none were recorded in Area 1 (Table 6; Fig. 16). Generally, these figures are identical to paintings of figures with breasts although breasts are not depicted. They have the same large, rounded buttocks, thicker thighs and sometimes, protruding stomachs. They are predominantly painted with their arms in trance performance poses (see Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 38-49; Fig. 14) and are depicted naked, without loincloths or aprons. They carry either sticks or sticks with bored stones and in a single site, fly whisks. Of all people recorded they have the least body decoration and those so recorded mostly came from a single site (n=6). They are not depicted touching animals and are associated with antelope, mostly female eland, male eland, and female rhebok. They are also associated with felines in two sites. In 50% of the sites they are depicted in rows and in one site, a group. In 60% of the sites they are depicted with indeterminate tall and thin figures, 40% of sites with figures with breasts, 20% of sites with figures with penises, and in a single site, therianthropes.

Table 6: Results for indeterminate figures: large buttocks Area 2.

AREA 2				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 2	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Figure with large buttocks	42	100%	100.0%	2.51%
Stick + stone	1	2.4%	2.4%	
Stick	3	7.1%	7.1%	

Table 6.1: Results for indeterminate figures: large buttocks body decoration and animal associations Area 2.

BODY DECORATION per site					ANIMAL ASSOCIATIONS per site			
Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage		Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage
FIGURES WITH LARGE BUTTOCKS					FIGURES WITH LARGE BUTTOCKS			
Ankle bands, knee bands, waist bands, arm bands	0%	20%	10%	1	Eland Male	0%	30%	15%
Dots on head	0%	10%	5%	3	Eland Female	0%	50%	25%
Bleeding from nose	0%	10%	5%	4	Antelope indeterminate	0%	30%	15%
Broad chest bands	0%	10%	5%	5	Rhebok female	0%	20%	10%
				6	Feline	0%	20%	10%
Touching animals	0%	0%	0%	7	Serpent	0%	10%	5%
					Indeterminate animal	0%	10%	5%



Figure 16: Examples of indeterminate figures: large buttocks, Area 2. Note 6 figures with breasts in top figure (Bottom figure Dstretch CRGB).

Human figures with penises

Figures with penises are depicted identically to indeterminate figures tall and thin, with the addition of a penis, and are the second largest category (n=110; Table 7; Figure 17, 18). I distinguished four different ways of depicting the penis: erect (n=76; 69.09%), massive or very long (as thick as a wrist, or a third the length of a leg; n=20; 18.2%), infibulated (n=9; 8.2%), and flaccid (n=6; 5.5%). Penis infibulation is typically shown as a bar running through the penis or some type of penis attachment (Fig. 17). There is an equal number of figures with penises painted in the two areas (55:55), but I recorded more infibulated penises in Area 1 (5:3). I recorded a single figure with penis wearing a woman's back apron in Area 1. In Area 2, I recorded 5 wearing *karosses* and 1 wearing a woman's apron. In both areas figures with penises carry/hold sticks without bored stones, bows, quivers, and arrows. Arrows are more often depicted in their quivers than in indeterminate figures tall and thin (9.9%:2.2%). They are often painted decorated with body bands in both areas, and tassels and line decorations. Two sites in each area showed figures with penises touching male and female eland, with one indeterminate antelope in Area 2. In both areas, 60% of sites had paintings of figures with penises associated with male eland, followed by female eland, although more were identified in sites in Area 2 (Area 1 40%: Area 2 60%).

Table 7: Results for figures with penises Area 1.

AREA 1				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 1	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Figure with penis	55	100%	50%	3.28%
Penis infibulation	6	10.9%	5.5%	
Stick	22	40%	20%	
Quiver	11	20%	10%	
Arrows	12	21.8%	10.9%	
Bow	18	32.7%	16.4%	
Kaross	0	0.0%	0.0%	
Apron	1	1.8%	0.9%	

Table 7.1: Results for figures with penises Area 2.

AREA 2				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 2	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Figure with penis	55	100%	50%	3.28%
Penis infibulation	3	5.5%	2.75%	
Stick	15	27.3%	13.6%	
Quiver	14	25.5%	12.75%	
Arrows	10	18.2%	9.1%	
Bow	14	25.5%	12.75%	
Kaross	5	9.1%	4.55%	
Apron	1	1.8%	0.9%	

Table 7.2: Results for figures with penises body decoration and animal associations Area 1 & 2.

BODY DECORATION per site					ANIMAL ASSOCIATIONS per site			
Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage		Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage
FIGURES WITH PENIS					FIGURES WITH PENIS			
Neck bands, wrist bands, arm bands, waist bands, knee bands, ankle bands	40%	60%	50%		Eland Male	60%	60%	60%
Spoor on body	10%	0%	5%	1	Eland Female	40%	60%	50%
Stripes, zig-zags, crosses on legs & body	20%	10%	15%	2	Eland Indeterminate	0%	10%	5%
Bleeding from nose	10%	10%	10%	3	Antelope indeterminate	20%	40%	30%
Detailed fingers	10%	10%	10%	4	Rhebok female	30%	40%	35%
Tassels on body	20%	20%	20%	5	Mountain Reedbuck female	20%	0%	10%
Very long neck	0%	10%	5%	6	Feline	10%	40%	25%
Detailed faces	10%	0%	5%	7	Horse	10%	0%	5%
Arrows in body	0%	20%	10%	8	Baboon	10%	0%	5%
Shoes?	10%	0%	5%	9	Dog/jackal	10%	0%	5%
				10	Serpent	0%	10%	5%
Touching animals	20%	20%	20%	11	Snake	10%	10%	10%
				12	Indeterminate animal	40%	30%	35%
Touching:				13	Rain animal	10%	0%	5%
Eland indeterminate	0%	10%	5%	14	Termites	10%	0%	5%
Eland female	10%	0%	5%	15	Cattle	0%	10%	5%
Eland male	10%	10%	10%	16	Hippo	0%	10%	5%
Antelope indeterminate	0%	10%	5%	17	Elephant	0%	10%	5%
				18	Fish	0%	10%	5%

In both areas figures with penises are associated with female rhebok and indeterminate antelope. Area 1 also had paintings of figures with penises associated with female Mountain Reedbuck. They are also associated with indeterminate animals (40%:30%), and felines (10%:40%), especially in Area 2. They have 28% fewer animal species painted in association with them compared to indeterminate figures tall and thin, and in most of the sites the animals that are associated with figures with penises could be described as game animals, rain animals (see Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 92-99; Mallen 2005), and felines. In all sites in Area 1, they are mostly associated with indeterminate figures tall and thin, then therianthropes, followed by figures with penises and therianthropes with penis. They are mostly depicted in groups of people. Area 2 is different because, while figures with penises are painted with indeterminate tall and thin in most sites, the second most common association is figures with breasts, then figures with penises, figures with large buttocks, followed by therianthropes. They are also painted in groups and rows of people.

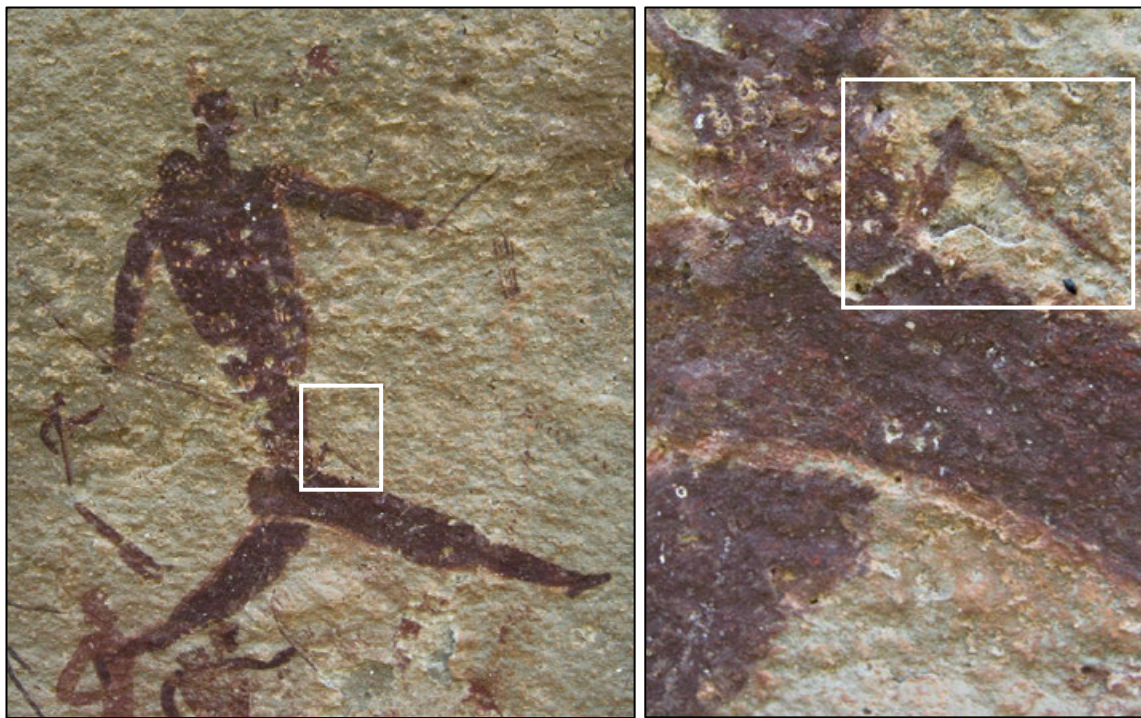


Figure 17: Example of figure with penis from Area 1 showing penis infibulation.



Figure 18: Example of figures with penises from Area 2 (Dstretch YBK).

Human figures with breasts

This category is the fourth largest ($n=46$) and I distinguished between drooping breasts and those that do not (Table 8; Fig. 19). The latter were recorded in a single site in Area 2 ($n=2$) and Area 1 may have one painting (see Fig. 20a). In Area 1, I recorded 6 figures with breasts that were not seated clapping, but two of these identifications are equivocal (Figs. 20a&b). All the other figures with breasts and not clapping were recorded in Area 2. They are painted similarly to figures with large buttocks with their rounded buttocks, thicker thighs, and at times, protruding stomachs. They are usually depicted naked and in Area 2 three are wearing front aprons. I recorded one in Area 2 wearing a *kaross* and in one site they are depicted holding what may be fly whisks. If they hold or carry anything it is sticks or sticks with bored stones. They have more body decoration than figures with large buttocks, but substantially less than the other paintings of people categories.

When figures with breasts are associated with animals it is predominantly antelope – male and female eland, female rhebok, and indeterminate antelope – and felines. One figure with breasts may be touching a female rhebok in Area 2. They are associated with 72% fewer animal species than indeterminate tall and thin, 61% fewer animal species than figures with penises, and 36% fewer animal species than therianthropes. Throughout the sites in Area 2 they are more often associated with

indeterminate tall and thin figures (50%), figures with breasts (40%), figures with penises (40%), followed by figures with large buttocks (40%). In one site, they are associated with a therianthrope. They are depicted in rows and groups of people.

Table 8: Results for figures with breasts Area 1 & 2.

AREA 1					AREA 2				
Category	Total	% of total Area 1	% of grand total	% of all figures	Category	Total	% of total Area 2	% of grand total	% of all figures
Figure with breasts	6	100%	13%	0.36%	Figure with breasts	40	100%	87%	2.39%
Stick + stone	2	33.3%	4.35%		Stick + stone	4	10%	8.7%	
Stick	2	33.3%	4.35%		Stick	8	20%	17.4%	
Kaross	0	0.0%	0.0%		Kaross	1	2.5%	2.22%	
Front apron	0	0.0%	0.0%		Front apron	3	7.5%	6.5%	

Table 8.1: Results for figures with breasts body decoration and animal associations Area 1 & 2.

BODY DECORATION per site					ANIMAL ASSOCIATIONS per site				
Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total %		Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total %	
FIGURES WITH BREASTS					FIGURES WITH BREASTS				
Ankle bands, knee bands, waist bands, arm bands	20%	40%	30%		Eland Male	20%	40%	30%	
Spoor on body	10%	0%	5%	1	Eland Female	10%	40%	25%	
Beads hanging between buttocks?	0%	10%	5%	2	Antelope indeterminate	0%	30%	15%	
Dots on head	0%	10%	5%	3	Rhebok female	0%	30%	15%	
Long neck	10%	10%	10%	4	Feline	0%	30%	15%	
Blood from head?	10%	0%	5%	5	Baboon	0%	10%	5%	
				6	Indeterminate animal	0%	10%	5%	
Touching animals	0%	10%	5%	7	Cattle	10%	0%	5%	
Touching:									
Rhebok female?	0%	10%	5%						



Figure 19: Examples of paintings of figures with breasts from Area 1 (top), Area 2 (bottom).



a.



b.

Figure 20. a) Figure with breast not drooping? b) Figure with breast? Area 1.

Therianthropes

I did not record any therianthropes with breasts, only indeterminate therianthropes and therianthropes with penises.

Therianthropes indeterminate

Indeterminate therianthropes formed the third largest category behind figures with penises (n=79; Table 9; Fig. 21). When they are depicted wearing something, it is a *kaross* (n=4; 5%). They are mostly depicted holding/carrying sticks (n=13; 16.5%), bows (n=10; 12.7%), quivers (n=6; 7.6%), and arrows (n=4; 5%). They are most often depicted with antelope heads, legs or 'arms' (n=70; 88%). I recorded what may be 3 feline therianthropes (3.8%; Fig. 21). Therianthrope body decoration predominantly consists of various painted body and limb bands (30%), feathers (15%), tassels, arrows, lines, dots, and splayed fingers (5%). Two therianthropes were recorded touching a female eland and a male eland respectively (Area 1 & Area 2). They are predominantly painted with male eland (30%), female eland (25%), female rhebok (20%), indeterminate antelope (10%), serpents and snakes (10%), feline, 'moose with teeth', rain animal, and termites (5%): 8 different species. In all sites therianthropes are mostly associated with indeterminate figures tall and thin (45%), figures with penises (35%), therianthropes (30%), and figures with breasts (5%).

Table 9: Results for therianthrope indeterminate Area 1.

AREA 1				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 1	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Therianthrope	38	100%	48.1%	2.26%
Stick	3	7.9%	3.8%	
Quiver	1	2.6%	1.3%	
Arrows	3	7.9%	3.8%	
Bow	5	13.2%	6.4%	
Kaross	1	2.6%	1.3%	
Antelope head	19	50%	24%	
Antelope feet	5	13.2%	6.3%	
Antelope arms	3	7.9%	3.8%	
Indeterminate animal head/feet/arms	6	15.8%	7.6%	
Claws	2	5.3%	2.5%	
Tusks	1	2.6%	1.3%	
Feline	1	2.6%	1.3%	

Table 9.1: Results for therianthrope indeterminate Area 2.

AREA 2				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 2	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Therianthrope	41	100%	51.9%	2.45%
Stick	10	24.4%	12.7%	
Quiver	5	12.2%	6.4%	
Arrows	1	2.4%	1.3%	
Bow	5	12.2%	6.4%	
Kaross	3	7.3%	3.8%	
Antelope head	32	78%	40.5%	
Antelope feet	19	46.3%	24%	
Antelope arms	7	17.1%	8.9%	
Indeterminate animal head/feet/arms	3	7.3%	3.8%	
Feline	2	4.9%	2.5%	

Table 9.2: Results for therianthrope indeterminate body decoration and animal associations Area 1 & Area 2.

BODY DECORATION per site					ANIMAL ASSOCIATIONS per site			
Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage		Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage
THERIANTHROPE					THERIANTHROPE			
Neck bands, wrist bands, arm bands, waist bands, knee bands, ankle bands	40%	20%	30%	1	Eland Male	20%	40%	30%
Dots	10%	0%	5%	2	Eland Female	10%	40%	25%
Feathers	20%	10%	15%	3	Antelope indeterminate	10%	10%	10%
Tassles	10%	0%	5%	4	Rhebok female	20%	20%	20%
Splayed fingers (not clapping)	0%	20%	10%	5	Feline	0%	10%	5%
Arrows	10%	0%	5%	6	Serpent	10%	10%	10%
Lines near head	10%	0%	5%	7	Snake	10%	10%	10%
				8	Indeterminate animal	0%	10%	5%
Touching animals	10%	10%	10%	9	Moose with teeth	10%	0%	5%
				10	Rain animal	10%	0%	5%
Touching?				11	Termites	10%	0%	5%
Male eland	0%	10%	5%					
Female eland	10%	0%	5%					



Figure 21: Examples of therianthrope indeterminates from Area 1 (top, with tusks and claws), and Area 2 (bottom, feline with possible human hind legs).

Therianthropes with penis

These figures formed the smallest category at 14 (Table 10; Fig. 22). Most of the therianthropes with penis were recorded in Area 1 (10:4). I recorded 1 wearing a *kaross* in Area 2. Most of the therianthropes with penis were carrying/holding arrows (n=6; 42.86%), quivers (n=4; 28.6%), and bows (n=4; 28.6%). I recorded one stick. Their body decoration consists of limb and body bands (15%), dots, lines from arms, tassels, bleeding from nose, stripes on legs, and detailed faces (5%). One is touching a female eland. They are associated with similar animals compared to therianthropes: male eland (20%), indeterminate antelope (20%), female eland (10%), female rhebok, serpents and snakes, feline, 'moose with teeth', rain animal, and termites (5%): 8 different species. In all the sites they are mostly associated with indeterminate figures (25%), figures with penises (10%), therianthropes with penis (5%), figures with breasts (5%), and figures with large buttocks (5%).

Table 10: Results for therianthropes with penis Area 1.

AREA 1				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 1	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Therianthrope with penis	10	100%	71.4%	0.6%
Penis infibulated	1	10%	7.1%	
Stick	1	10%	7.1%	
Quiver	4	40.0%	28.6%	
Arrows	5	50.0%	35.7%	
Bow	4	40.0%	28.6%	
Kaross	0	0.0%	0.0%	
Antelope head	5	50.0%	35.7%	
Antelope feet	2	20.0%	14.3%	
Antelope arms	2	20.0%	14.3%	
Indeterminate animal head/feet/arms	1	10.0%	7.1%	
Touching animals	10%	0%	5%	
Touching?				
Female eland	10%	0%	5%	

Table 10.1: Results for therianthropes with penis Area 2.

AREA 2				
Category	Total	Percentage of total Area 2	Percentage of grand total	Percentage of all figures
Therianthrope with penis	4	100%	28.6%	0.2%
Penis infibulated	0	0%	0.0%	
Stick	0	0%	0.0%	
Quiver	0	0.0%	0.0%	
Arrows	1	25%	7.1%	
Bow	0	0.0%	0.0%	
Kaross	1	25%	7.1%	
Antelope head	2	50%	14.3%	
Antelope feet	1	25%	7.1%	
Antelope arms	1	25%	7.1%	
Indeterminate animal head/feet/arms	1	25%	7.1%	

Table 10.2: Results for therianthropes with penis body decoration and animal associations Area 1 & Area 2.

BODY DECORATION per site					ANIMAL ASSOCIATIONS per site			
Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage		Category	Area 1	Area 2	Total percentage
THERIANTHROPE WITH PENIS					THERIANTHROPE WITH PENIS			
Neck bands, wrist bands, arm bands, waist bands, knee bands, ankle bands	20%	10%	15%	1	Eland Male	20%	20%	20%
Dots	10%	0%	5%	2	Eland Female	20%	0%	10%
Lines from arms	0%	10%	5%	3	Antelope indeterminate	10%	30%	20%
Tassles	10%	0%	5%	4	Rhebok female	10%	0%	5%
Bleeding from nose	0%	10%	5%	5	Feline	0%	10%	5%
Stripes on legs	10%	0%	5%	6	Serpent	0%	10%	5%
Detailed faces	10%	0%	5%	7	Snake	10%	0%	5%
				8	Moose with teeth	10%	0%	5%
				9	Rain animal	10%	0%	5%
				10	Termites	10%	0%	5%

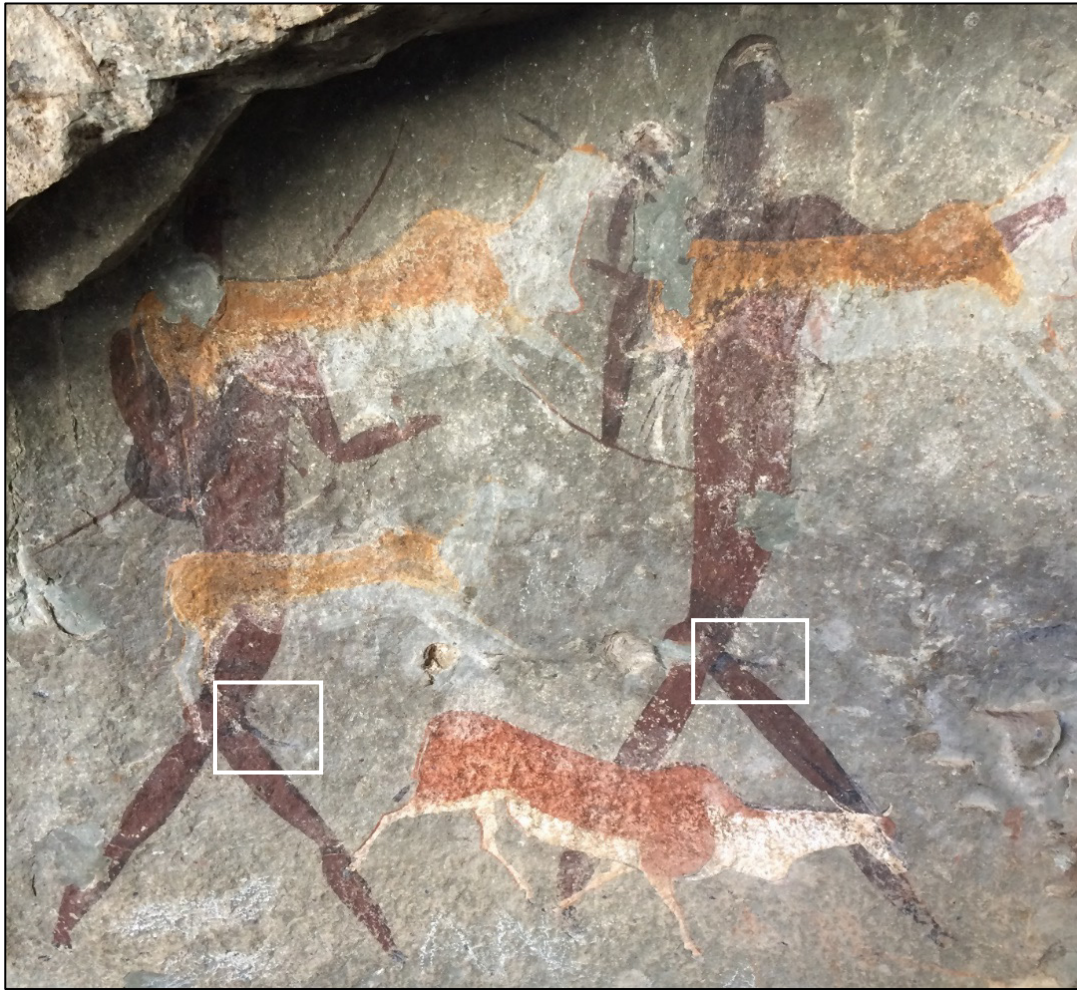


Figure 22: Therianthropes (hooves) with penis Area 1.

Figures seated clapping

I recorded 20 figures seated clapping, of which 6 were painted with breasts (Fig. 23). The only detail I was able to record on these figures is their splayed fingers, at times attenuated necks, and perhaps *karosses* and body bands. They are always painted next to other figures displaying trance-performance poses. I recorded figures seated clapping in all layers except the topmost layer. I argue they are a separate category of figures because their actions, seated with their hands up at times with splayed fingers and attenuated necks, are specific and distinct from the other figures painted. They are depicted similarly in both areas.

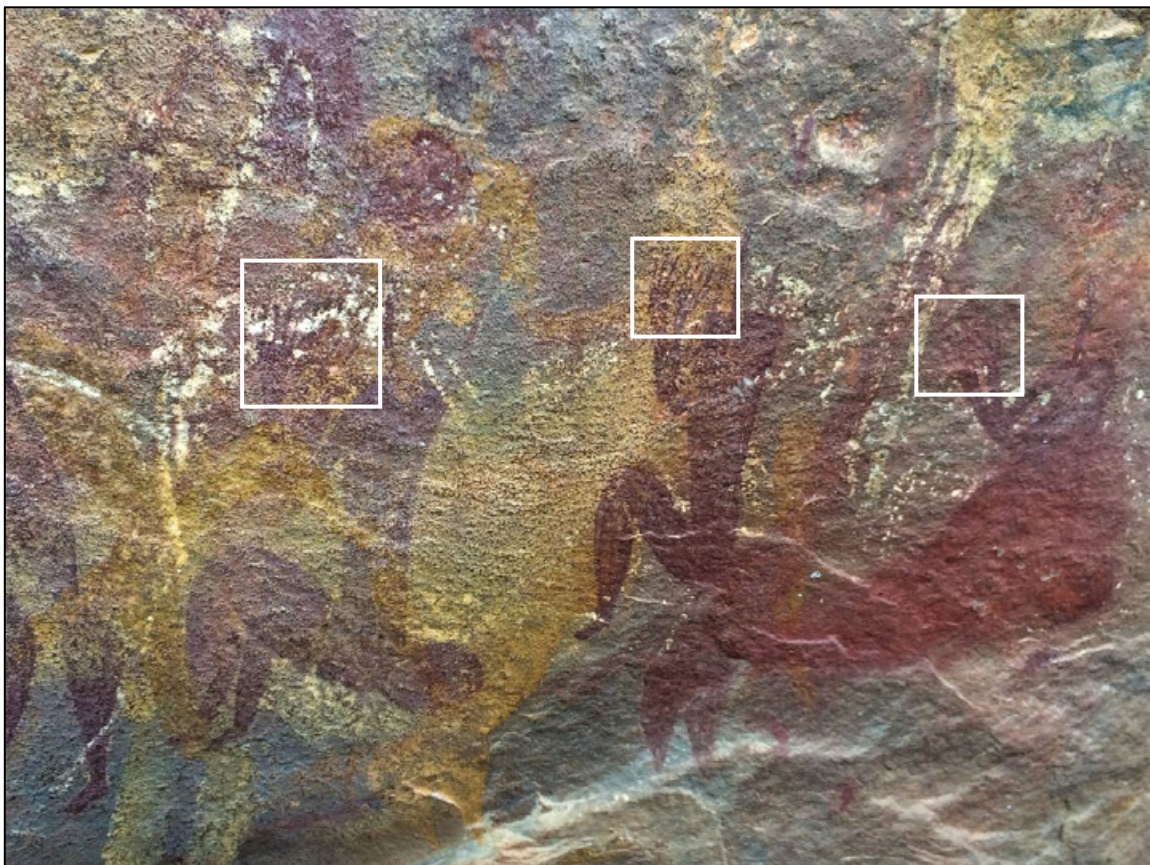
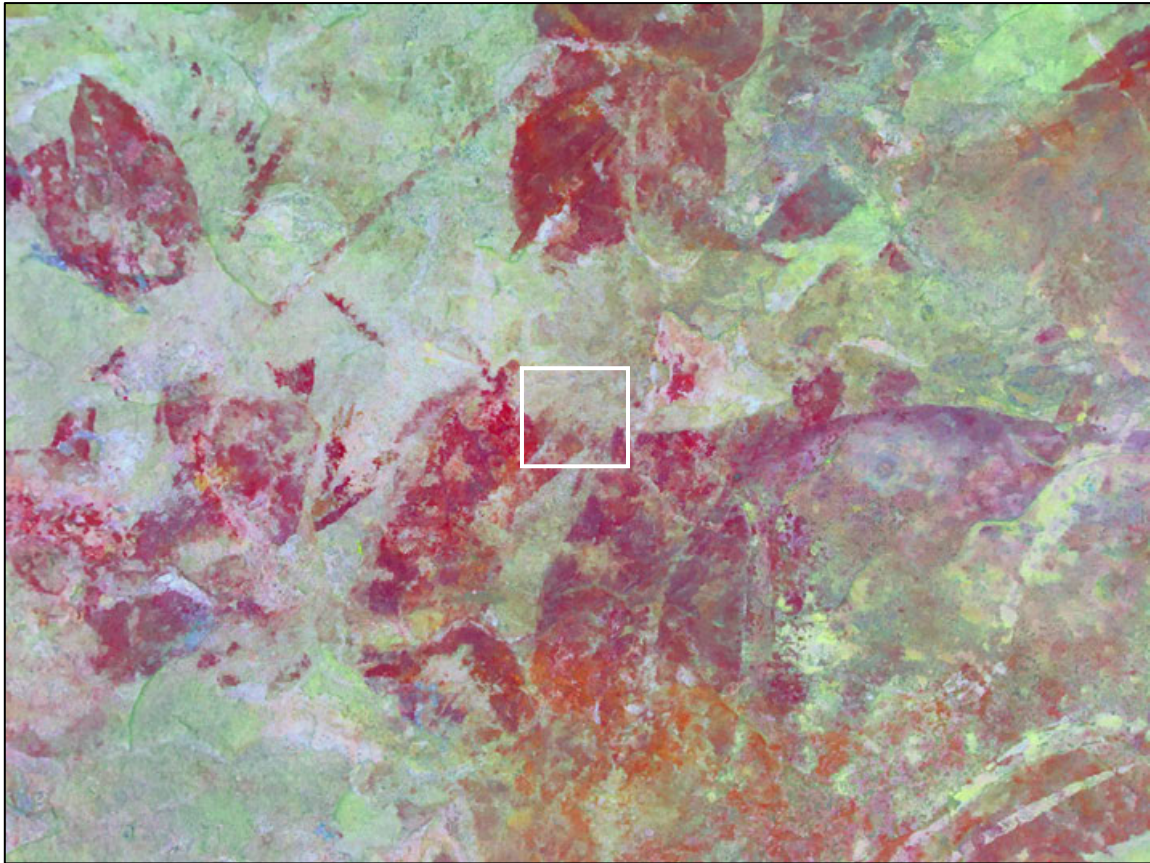


Figure 23: Examples of figures seated clapping, Area 1 (top Dstretch LRE), Area 2 – note attenuated necks (bottom).

Summary of painted categories of people

Almost all figures appear to be depicted naked (n=1604) and when it is possible to identify clothing, they are wearing *karosses* and women's aprons. It is possible that some figures are depicted with loincloths that we cannot discern. I argue this point is unlikely considering the careful detailing found in paintings of people and the painting conventions followed; it is probable that some indication of loincloths would be identifiable and none are. Only indeterminate figures tall and thin, figures with penises, and therianthropes are depicted with bows, quivers, and arrows. All categories are shown holding/carrying sticks but only figures with breasts and indeterminate figures with large buttocks are depicted with sticks with bored stones. Indeterminate figures tall and thin and figures with penises have the greatest variety and most detail in body decoration. All categories are associated with game animals, predominantly male and female eland, and female rhebok.

Indeterminate figures tall and thin, figures with penises, and therianthropes are associated with rain animals in more sites than figures with breasts and figures with large buttocks. All categories are associated with felines except therianthropes. All categories are associated with indeterminate figures except therianthropes, which are usually associated with indeterminate tall and thin figures and figures with penises. All categories of figures are depicted in groups and rows, in trance performance postures, standing, and walking. I did not record any figures with breasts or figures with large buttocks running or sprinting.

To obtain some understanding of this patterning, and enable some comprehension of what gender and gendered relationships were for the San of these areas, I examine the southern San ethnography recorded in the late 1800s. I focus primarily on the /Xam narratives, acknowledging their spatial distance from the research area (~600 km) and that they were an engraving rather than painting people (for justification of the use of this ethnography, see Lewis-Williams & Bieseke 1978; Lewis-Williams 1984b; Deacon 1986; Barnard 1992; Low 2014). Wherever possible, I provide evidence from the much smaller Mountain San ethnography, geographically proximal to my Areas 1 and 2 (~120 km). I use northern San ethnography (Marshall Thomas 1959; Marshall 1976; Lee 1979, 1984; Shostak 1981; Katz 1982; Keeney 2003) for more detailed understandings of the experiences of ritual specialists. This ethnography is a heuristic and the rock paintings the primary source of evidence.

GENDER IN SOUTHERN SAN ETHNOGRAPHY

In using the /Xam collection of narratives, I do not always refer to the names of the narrators. I do, however, wish to highlight them as individuals and not allow them to disappear and thus signify these individuals using the following numbers used by Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd:

- I /Alkunta: male
- II //Kabbo: male
- IV ≠Kasin: male
- V Díǎ!kwāin: male
- VI !Kweiten-ta//ken: female
- VIII /Han≠kass'o: male

Diacritical marks do not follow those used in the Bleek & Lloyd Collection. In the Mountain San ethnography, Joseph Orpen records Qing's narrative which mentions men, women, and young girl as gender categories (Orpen 1874: 6,8,10). For the /Xam, female/male and women/men were established gender categories associated with biological sexual features supported, for example, by the story of the girl who trapped her breast in a rock, /Kaggen's boast "*Our name is Penis! The man has done it!*", and the many stories of male and female rain (Hewitt 1986: 17-18, 40, 196; /Kaggen is a /Xam deity and ritual specialist [Lewis-Williams 1996]). Boys and girls were such until their puberty rites (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 41-53, 57-67), and older men and women were also recognised as a distinct gender category (Hewitt 1986: 18, 20-21). This suggests that for /Xam, gender identities, age, and initiated status were important societal structuring principles that nonetheless evolved during a person's life course.

Throughout the southern San ethnographies are references to people behaving 'nicely', following customary procedures and *!nanna-se* (respect; Bleek 1956: 473) practices to ensure rain, fatness, and peace (Lewis-Williams 1981a; Hewitt 1986: 108; McGranaghan 2012: 168-200; Low 2014). These customary procedures were especially important for young men and women, and children, to condition them into the correct behaviours for their adulthood. It was essential to act 'educated' and in many stories, the protagonists that act educated, are rewarded (McGranaghan 2012: 191-192).

'Nice' behaviour was, then, implicated in relationships, used in critical statements aimed at motivating or compelling people to act in certain ways by portraying specific actions as coherent with (or central to) the performance of certain roles...These !nanna-se strictures formed one of the major avenues whereby people attempted to exert proscriptive control over others' actions, especially those of hunters and New Maidens. (New Maidens are young women at menarche; McGranaghan 2012: 190-191).

These respect and avoidance practices are dominantly focused on control and social conditioning to ensure the correct behaviours in kin relationships, marriage, and the acquisition, sharing, preparation, consumption, and discarding of food (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 56-64, 1996: 135, 1997: 210-211; Hewitt 1986: 108; McGranaghan 2012: 147-200).

It appears the Mountain San may have shared these southern San practices (Orpen 1874). In the story of *Cagn* [*Cagn* is similar to the /Xam /*Kaggen*] and the wax woman who stuck to him, *Cagn* sees a woman and decides to make her his wife, and we interpolate, has sex with her. *Cagn's* wife scolded him for picking up "any woman" (Orpen 1874: 9-10). He has not followed customary conjugal practices and is punished by the wax woman sticking to him. In the story of the *Qobé* giant cannibals, and another story about *Cgoriöinsi*, a woman who eats people, they are all punished because cannibalism is taboo (Orpen 1874: 5-6, 9; Hewitt 1986: 88-91; McGranaghan 2012: 149). These examples demonstrate the importance of following customary practices.

In the /Xam narratives gendered identities are treated differently and are varied because in many of the stories the men and women protagonists can act foolishly, and in others, with bravery and education – the latter highly valued by the /Xam (e.g. *The two Lions, the Lizards, the Blue Crane, the Rhebok and the Black Crow* L. VIII. 32: 8859-8878, 8848-8852, 19: 7643-7656). It appears that the emphasis of these narratives is not on the protagonists' gender *per se*, but on their actions and how their actions affect the community. The stories inculcate the correct behaviour in women and men with no gender given preferential status but rather, used as a device to carry the story and its lesson.

This changes dramatically in two arenas: young men's hunting and young women's sexuality. Hunting with a bow and arrow was highly valued and associated with masculine social responsibility (McGranaghan 2012: 175). David Lewis-Williams (1981a: 55-64) details the respect practices undertaken by the /Xam for all antelope. He especially emphasises the link between the hunter and his prey (L. II. 28: 2531-2565; L. V. 17: 5301; Lewis-Williams 1981a: 56; also McGranaghan 2012: 184-200). "*When we show respect to the game, we act in this manner; because we wish that the game may die. For the game would not die if we did not show respect to it*" (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 271). The community also affected animal behaviour and had to follow food avoidances and use respect names and practices, to ensure animals behaved 'nicely' (McGranaghan 2012: 184-200).

Mark McGranaghan (2012: 189) states in connection to *'The Widows Story'* (L. II. 13: 1254):

She emphasised hunting success as dependent on an alliance between masculine and feminine activity, with even indirect participation being vital to the success of the operation....

While there are similarities between the respect practices of men hunters and young women (Hewitt 1986: 106), an unsuccessful hunt cannot be compared to a young woman's potential effect on the rain, and by extension, her effect on the lives of her community and surrounding animals. Young women have magic power (L. V. 6: 4401rev.). From menarche, every aspect of a young woman's life before marriage was controlled and conditioned:

- her speech (B. XXVII: 2615-2616; L. V. 6: 4377rev.-4407rev.);
- her looks and gestures (B. XXVII: 2609-2611; L. II. 28: 2521rev.; L. II. 37: 3333-3343; L. V. 2: 3871; L. V. 20: 5581-5591; L. V. 20: 5618-5622, 5624; L. VI. 2: 3998-4000);
- her movements (B. XXVII: 2609-2611; L. II. 37: 3333-3343; L. V. 2: 3871; L. V. 6: 4408rev.; L. V. 20: 5581-5591; L. VI. 2: 3998-4000);
- the way she ate (L. II. 28: 2515-2524; L. V. 2: 3875-3881);
- the effect of her touch and using red ochre and *buchu* [aromatic plant] (L. V. 6: 4395rev.; L. V. 6: 4403rev.; L. VI. 1: 3974; L. VI. 2: 3997-4003; L. VIII. 16: 7434-7448);
- her effect on animals (L. II. 28: 2521rev.; L. V. 6: 4384rev.; L. V. 6: 4385rev.);
- her scent (L. V. 6: 4391rev.; L. V. 6: 4395rev.; L. V. 6: 4403rev.; L. V. 6: 4408rev.; L. VIII. 16: 7434-7448);
- her labour – acquiring and processing food (L. V. 6: 4393rev.; L. V. 6: 4403rev.; L. V. 8: 5406-5418; L. V. 20: 5592-5604);
- her sexuality (L. V. 6: 4391rev.; L. V. 6: 4400rev.; L. V. 6: 4401rev.; L. VIII. 9: 6799; L. VIII. 16: 7434-7448).

Young women were told stories with terrible consequences to condition them into behaving in a socially acceptable manner. They were also told stories where young girls escape from danger, or bring great rewards to their communities, because they behaved nicely, because they are educated, because they seem as if they listen. If all young women wanted to be conditioned and controlled there would be no need for this type of narrative nor puberty rituals. I argue these conditioning efforts are largely centred on controlling a woman's sexual potency and, magic power, because it is this aspect of her identity that has the most impact on her communities – a lack of food sharing, men forgetting their wives, the rain becoming angry and either sending destructive storms or no rain, which in turn means no animals to hunt, no plant food to gather, no fat (B. XXVII: 2540-2554; L. V. 6: 4377rev.-4407rev.; L. VIII. 9: 6786-6857). It is this power that must be suppressed and controlled.

One domain where women could explore more freedom, independence, and another aspect of their identities (see L. V. 3: 4132-4161; Shostak 1981; Katz 1982: 223, 242), was in learning to acquire and regulate supernatural potency. David Lewis-Williams (1981a: 77) has shown the /Xam named at least four categories of ritual specialists – ritual specialists of the rain, game, healing, and general ritual specialists. Mountain San seem to have had similar categories (Orpen 1874: 10). /Xam men and women became ritual specialists (L. VIII. 20: 7756rev., 7757-7762, 7768-7774), as did Mountain San. Qing relates: “*It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night*” (Orpen 1874: 10). The /Xam mention preeminent women and men ritual specialists (L. V. 3: 4132-4161, 4: 4162-4199; L. V. 10: 4707-4710rev., 4712rev., 4714rev.; L. VIII. 14: 7287, 7288; 15: 7289-7295). Preeminent ritual specialists may also be mentioned by the Mountain San because *Qwanciqutshaa*’s wife could sink into the ground and come up at another place repeatedly (Orpen 1987: 6). David Lewis-Williams (2013) argues that *Qwanciqutshaa* is very similar to *Cagn*, also believed to be a ritual specialist, and has further demonstrated that ritual specialists travel in this manner in out-of-body experiences (Lewis-Williams 1996: 126, 133-134). For the /Xam, women were predominantly ritual specialists of the game and healing (L. II. 37: 3337rev.; L. V. 10: 4707-4710rev., 4712rev., 4714rev.; L. VIII. 20: 7753-7752rev., 7753rev.). There are no descriptions of women leading out a rain-animal in the same way as men do which may imply that women did not call the rain, or they did so in another manner (B. XXVII: 2540-2608; L. VIII. 1: 6054-6057, 6061-6073; also Hollmann 2004: 267), indicating there may be a difference in the roles women and men ritual specialists played.

Roger Hewitt (1986: 136) writes that /*Kaggen*, the /Xam trickster deity and ritual specialist, could be old or young, a man with feminine associations. He is also social – follows customary procedures and ensures order, and anti-social – is foolish and creates disorder (Hewitt 1986: 134-136; Lewis-Williams 1996). This ambiguity emphasises further the tensions between strict and fluid gender identities – the importance of men hunters, the danger of young women, men **and** women acting foolishly and nicely, the feminine and masculine aspects of /*Kaggen*. Roger Hewitt (1986: 128-136) argues that the emphasis in the narratives on stories of /*Kaggen* subverting customary procedures and acting foolishly serves to emphasise the opposite: the importance of behaving nicely.

Indeed, people following customary procedures was especially important for ritual specialists who had to ‘fix’ any problems whether illness, lack of rain, lack of game and so forth (Lewis-Williams 1982; McGranaghan & Challis 2016). People must not light fires to chase away the rain and they must be silent and not talk about the rain (L. VIII. 23: 8018-8029). “*For those things they are those which the sorcerers do not always therefore make the rain fall for them, on account of them*” (L. V. 3: 4085). “*They behaved badly when it was with them, they made it go away*

for they did not take care of their fellows (the medicine men)" (B. XXVII: 2558-2559). *"Think ye that the children whom we saw, they did not mock at us, for, the thing seems as if they knew education"* (L. V. 10: 4755-4756). People are warned to be careful of food in time of plenty and follow the correct procedures (L. VIII. 16: 7448 rev., 7449-7451, 7450 rev., 7452-7456). Ritual specialists become angry when people do not respect magic things (L. V. 20: 5537-5556). Ritual specialists' roles in ensuring people behaved nicely implies that women ritual specialists may have played as much of a role as men in perpetuating social conditioning in men and women.

SOUTHERN SAN GENDER IDENTITIES

The southern San associated biological sex with gender, and age and initiated status were important to these identities. Furthermore, as Mark McGranaghan (2012) has argued, nice behaviours were a central element of these identities. Nice behaviours were especially important for children, and young men and women because of the effect their behaviour had on people and animals and sustaining lifeways. Central of these nice behaviours were those expected of men hunters and women at menarche. I argue the latter are most critical because of the effect young women could have on the rain and men. Thus, every element of a young woman's life was controlled so that she could be conditioned to behave in a manner into adulthood that ensured food resources and relationships between people and people, and people and animals. There was potential for women to acquire more independence and another, perhaps different, identity through training to become ritual specialists.

Men and women were ritual specialists and preeminent ritual specialists of both sexes were recognised. /Kaggen, the /Xam trickster deity and ritual specialist, is ambiguous because he is a man with feminine characteristics and behaves nicely and foolishly. His role in the narratives appears to ensure that people behave nicely. I argue this role is mirrored in ritual specialists because they had to deal with and work through the problems created by people not following customary practices – a lack of rain, lack of game, and psychological and physical disorders. Men and women ritual specialists would have encouraged people to follow customary procedures because these correct behaviours would make their work easier. This means that ritual specialists had complex gendered identities that included their biological sex and the nice behaviour expected of them as men and women of the community, but they could transcend these identities in their roles as ritual specialists where gender, age, and initiated status may not have been important.

With this gendered understanding, I return to the categories in the paintings of Area 1 and Area 2, to test whether the rock paintings might suggest that these San held similar gender beliefs. I begin with the way in which figures are clothed, their associated equipment and the gendered identities. In using an ethnography created in the near present, I need to identify similar underlying structures through all painted layers. Thus, if I identify a category that occurs in all painted layers, I can be reasonably confident that certain painting conventions and associated beliefs may have lasted millennia.

GENDER IDENTITIES IN THE PAINTINGS OF AREA 1 AND AREA 2

Clothing, adornment, and gender

Vibeke Viestad (2018) studies how San bodies were adorned, with clothing, body paint, tattoos, scarifications, and scent, and dispels the myth of the 'naked Bushman'. With her reading of the Kalahari and /Xam ethnographies, she argues:

...the numerous different episodes and situations that feature dress in one way or the other exemplify that dress must have been essential, not only in the functional aspects of life, but as a significant part of the social and material culture of the nineteenth-century Northern Cape /Xam (Viestad 2018: 139), and: In short, being dressed meant being part of the world. Being dressed meant placing oneself in the midst of the social relations that created and maintained the individual as part of the community and the world at large (Viestad 2018: 161).

The paintings of people I recorded in both areas are mostly depicted naked, which is unusual because we know from ethnographic sources that men wore loincloths, carried hunting bags and equipment, and women wore front and back aprons, and carried various types of bags (e.g. Viestad 2018). This means that by painting figures with penises, and figures with breasts, there may be some part of the identity of the figure that is emphasised – their gender but also, something other than gender. When I did record paintings of people wearing clothing, it was always *karosses*, eared-caps, and girls'/womens' front and back aprons. In her reading of the /Xam narratives, Vibeke Viestad (2018: 140) shows that in the stories about sorcerers or ritual specialists, the clothing most frequently mentioned is *karosses* and eared-caps. There may be a similar pattern evident in the stories told by Qing (Orpen 1874: 6-8). Additionally, Edward Eastwood has shown that ritual specialists wear women's aprons during the trance dance (2006: 36; 2008). In other words, everyday dress is eschewed in favour of showing dress known to be of ritual significance.

Vibeke Viestad (2018: 140) also presents stories that pertain to hunting, medicinal, and rain/water rituals that usually include references to modifications of the body such as cuts, tattoos, body paint, and fragrances. These elements may be present in the paintings by the addition of bands, antelope spoor, stripes, flecks, and other body decorations and could well emphasise the supernatural contexts of the depicted figures. This means that the selective choice of depicted clothing and body decoration suggests a focus on ritual and supernatural contexts that may transcend gender. I now turn to paintings of people holding and carrying hunting equipment to see how these accoutrements might illuminate their gendered and other, identity.

Hunting equipment and gender

Sticks with and without bored stones

Patricia Vinnicombe (1976: 264) highlights the problems with identifying bows and sticks. I followed her protocol in identifying bows as curved lines and sticks as straight lines but also recognise, like she did, that a percentage of the sticks may well be unstrung bows. There is ample ethnographic support that predominantly men hunted with bows and arrows and hunting was highly valued (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 55-68; Hewitt 1986: 21-22; McGranaghan 2012: 175). Men and women also hunted with sticks in digging up plant foods and ant and termite eggs and grubs (L II. 36: 3296rev.-3297rev.). ||Kabbo tells how: *“women's hunting is called /kua. Women dig out things and 'hunt' prey such as 'Bushman rice'. They 'kill' the rice in its hole (here a figure of speech) because it runs about. Men's hunting is called !hunnn”* (L II. 36: 3296rev.-3297rev.). These sticks were gendered in that women's sticks usually had a bored stone attached that they would make (L. VIII. 10: 6889-6893; McGranaghan 2012: 275). Sven Ouzman (1997) has provided a comprehensive study of bored stones and their uses (also Stevenson 1995: 125). I treat bored stones as directly associated with sticks, women's sticks and women's hunting. The sticks I recorded are generally about the same length as bows, held upright in the hand, across the shoulders, and in the case of figures with breasts and figures with large buttocks, are sometimes painted with a bored stone inserted along the length (Figs. 24 & 25). I did not record any decoration on these sticks, although there may be one depicted in Area 1 (see Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 49). Bert Woodhouse (1994) has discovered paintings of decorated sticks from a site close (~50 km) to Area 1. Generally, sticks with bored stones are used by women and sticks without bored stones, by men (L. VIII. 23: 8083 rev.; Orpen 1874: 3, 6, 9, 10; Ouzman 1997: 77-84, 91). While these sticks had multiple uses, principally for digging up food (Ouzman 1997: 76-88), I argue they are depicted because of their symbolic associations with using supernatural potency, hunting, and rain calling.

Sticks with and without bored stones used in ritual

In his description of a trance dance and ritual specialists, Dǎ!kwāin associates a stick with an accomplished ritual specialist: *“This man who stands in front seems to be showing the people how to dance; that is why he holds a stick, for he feels that he is a great man. So he holds a dancing stick, because he is the one who dances before the people, that they may dance after him, for the people know, that he is the one who always dances first, because he wants the people who are learning sorcery to dance after him”* (L V. 22: 5755-5760). /Hanʔkass’o relates the story of the *Kóro–tuíten* and /Kaggen, who hunt ants by flying and hovering over the ant nests to descend into the nests, gather the fat and arise in a different place. This story refers to the potency of these insects’ fat and their power to transform (L. VIII. 10: 6885-6939). The association between sticks and hunting may be further emphasised by the information that when a man dies his bow and stick are buried with him (L. XI: 9235-9236).

In another story, Dǎ!kwāin tells of a wife beating her digging stick with a stone on the ground to ensure good hunting for her husband (L. V. 10: 4778-4795-4868). We also know that reeds used for arrows are straightened using a digging stick stone (L. VIII. 26: 8289-8292). In a further reference to hunting and sticks we are told that the people beat the bushes with a stick and call to the north wind to help them travel quickly in front of the game, *“with a stick, with a man’s stick”* (L. VIII. 8: 6725rev.), which supports the gendered associations of sticks.

Bored stones are also associated with the rain, and new, spring rains: *“They follow the stars digging stones rain, because it is spring. The rice star’s digging stick’s stone’s rain”* (L. II. 25: 2318 rev.). /Hanʔkass’o describes the ritual specialist /Kannu calling rain by digging a channel for it with a stick with a horn on the tip but no perforated stone (L. VIII. 23: 8008rev.). ʔKásin describes an old woman who stuck her digging stick into the ground to appeal to the Chameleon for rain (L. IV. 3: 3701) and !Nanni recounts how women struck the earth with their digging sticks to avoid lightning and to call the rain (L. I. 112: 9298). Qing relates the story of *Cagn’s* daughter and the snakes in which he uses his stick to transform the snakes into people:

And Cagn sent Cogaz for them to come and turn from being snakes, and he told them to lie down, and he struck them with his stick, and as he struck each the body of a person came out, and the skin of a snake was left on the ground, and he sprinkled the skins with cannā, and the snakes turned from being snakes, and became his people (Orpen 1874: 5).



Figure 24: Figures with breasts holding sticks, and sticks with bored stones (bored stone indicated by white arrow) Area 1 (top), Area 2 (bottom; Dstretch AC).

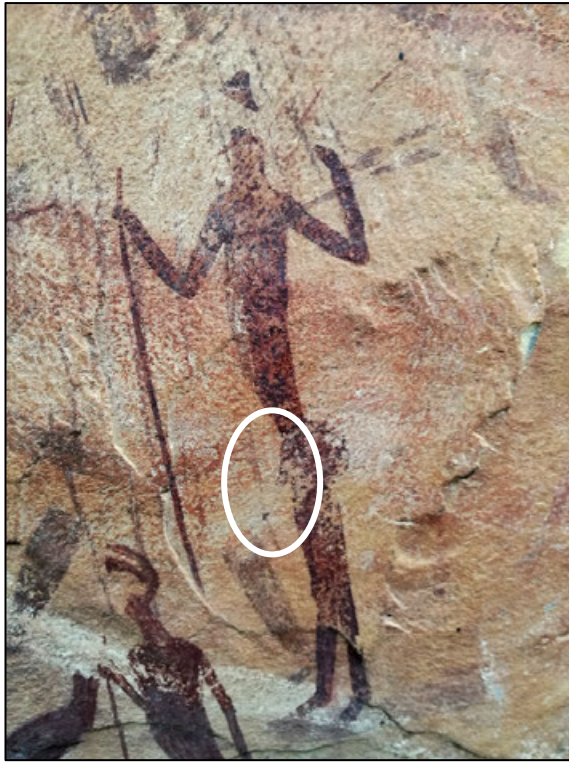


Figure 25: Figures with and without penis with sticks Area 1 (top), Area 2 (bottom; Dstretch AC).

These extracts clearly show that sticks were strongly gendered implements and associated with women's and men's hunting. They also show that sticks were associated with ritual specialists, their labour, providing for good hunting and calling the rain (also Blundell 2004; Mullen 2018). These connections are further emphasised by the remains excavated by John Goodwin at Oakhurst Shelter (Goodwin 1938). Here, a male skeleton was buried with many items including hunting equipment, ochre, three palettes and a bored stone (Goodwin 1938: 250-251; Ouzman 1997: 89). The bored stone was surrounded with ochre and an unbroken row of fish vertebrae was glued into the hole in the stone (Ouzman 1997: 89). Lyn Wadley (1988) links these finds to ritual specialists and their experiences of altered states of consciousness, and Sven Ouzman (1997: 90) further extends her argument that the bored stone functioned as a ritual object, which suggests the buried man was a ritual specialist.

With this converging ethnographic and excavated evidence, I argue that paintings of people holding sticks with and without bored stones identify women and men ritual specialists. My results concur with Sven Ouzman's (1997: 94) statement that no paintings of men with penises holding digging sticks with bored stones have been recorded. My results also show that digging sticks with bored stones are only painted with figures with breasts, or figures with no breasts and large buttocks.

Bows, arrows, and quivers

Only paintings of indeterminate tall and thin figures and figures with penises are painted holding/carrying bows, arrows, and quivers (Fig. 26). Men made and used bows and arrows, and each had specific markings to identify them with their owner (Wiessner 1983: 261; Deacon 1992: 6; McGranaghan 2012: 175-176, 265-267). David Lewis-Williams (1981a: 64) has commented on the rare paintings that depict men shooting at antelope. In the thousands of rock paintings I have seen, I can only remember two hunting depictions.

This lack of depictions of unambiguous hunting scenes implies this equipment is used in the paintings to identify the figures as hunters, but also may refer to other symbolic associations, such as hunters' symbolic behaviour and the avoidance practices mentioned above. Additionally, the /Xam believed malevolent ritual specialists shoot invisible arrows into people to make them ill (L. VIII. 14: 7287, 7288; 15: 7289-7295). We also know that ritual specialists remove these arrows from sick people – they 'snore' them out of the sick (L. VIII. 14: 7287, 7288; 15: 7289-7295). Furthermore, bows, bags, and quivers were closely associated with what they were made from – wood, and leather from animals – and in some stories transform back into their original state (L. II. 4: 519-529, 5: 530-546; L. II. 37: 3335rev.-3336rev.; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 116-117).

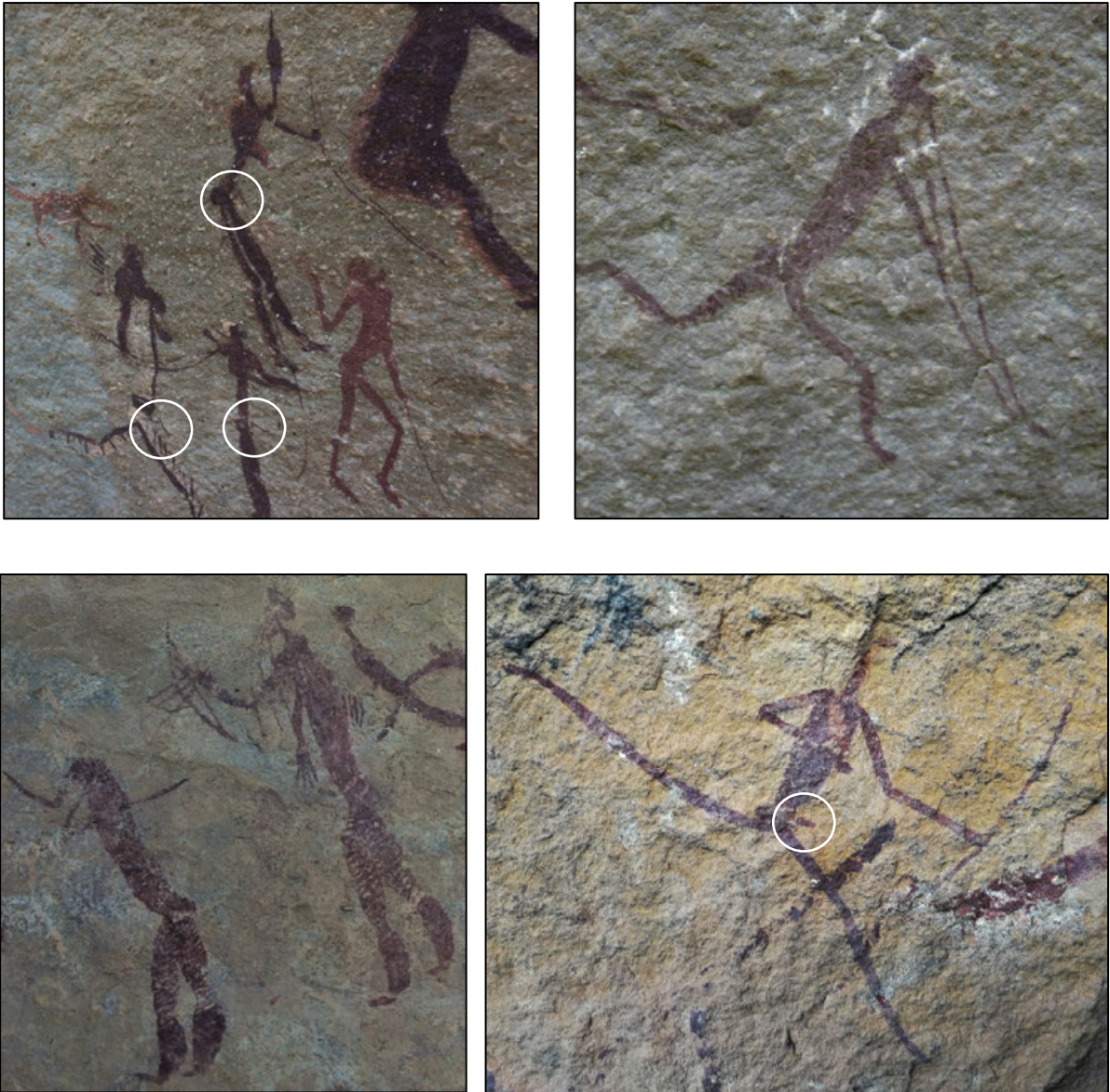


Figure 26: Figures with and without penises carrying bows Area 1 (top) Area 2 (bottom, Dstretch AC).

The Mountain San associated bows with their trickster deity ritual specialist *Cagn* (Orpen 1874: 8). In the Kalahari, ritual specialists equate supernatural potency with arrows; transferring supernatural potency can be sent by invisible arrows and the sensations of supernatural potency inside the body is like being pierced by arrows: “*Teachers shoot these arrows of n/um (n/um tchisi) into the student*” (Katz 1982: 46; see also Keeney 2003). The supernatural associations of bows, arrows and quivers appear to be emphasised in the paintings because often figures are depicted carrying only bows, or only quivers, or only arrows. These supernatural and magical associations of arrows and associated equipment make them like digging sticks, and identify these figures as men hunters, and as ritual specialists.

Paintings of equipment and gender

I have argued that equipment is associated with gender: sticks with bored stones with women hunters, sticks without bored stones with men and women hunters. Like these items, arrows, bows, and quivers identify men as hunters. However, these figures with equipment do not show them hunting, thus, I argue the emphasis in these paintings is on the man or woman as a 'hunter', not on the activity of hunting. This gendered hunter identity may transcend that of ordinary men and women hunters because they are not shown in ordinary circumstances which means they may not be implicated in the same observances as ordinary men and women. This seems likely because men are often portrayed as carrying only a bow, or only arrows, or only a quiver – making actual hunting impossible. I have also shown that the selected equipment has symbolic associations, magical properties, and are closely implicated in the work of ritual specialists which also identifies these figures as ritual specialists. With these understandings of gendered equipment and clothing, I now return to the categories of people I recorded to fully explicate their gender and other identities.

Indeterminate figures tall and thin

Most of the figures recorded are not painted with specific sexual features. In comparison to paintings of figures with penises and breasts, they are most like figures with penises in that they are generally tall and thin, and lack the large, rounded buttocks and thicker thighs, as well as the at times protruding stomachs, of figures painted with and without breasts. These figures are sometimes depicted carrying bows, arrows and quivers – men's hunting equipment – and sticks which identify them as men hunters and ritual specialists. They are also sometimes depicted wearing *karosses* and have detailed body decoration which also emphasises their ritual specialist identity.

Sometimes, these figures are not depicted with any equipment that allows them to be gendered by association. It is secure to argue that if the paintings of tall, thin figures carrying hunting equipment are men, then it follows that similar tall, thin figures carrying sticks, or not carrying anything, are men too – the underlying structure is overwhelmingly the same. I argue all indeterminate figures tall and thin are men, those depicted with equipment may be 'ordinary' ritual specialists, and those depicted without equipment novice ritual specialists.

Becoming a ritual specialist is difficult and many never master the skill (Katz 1982). Díä!kwāin mentions the training of novice ritual specialists: *“This man who stands in front seems to be showing the people how to dance... for the people know, that he is the one who always dances first, because he wants the people who are learning sorcery to dance after him”* (L. V. 22: 5755-5760). David Lewis-Williams also cites Díä!kwāin who says that when experienced ritual specialists teach novices they give them their nasal blood to smell to help activate supernatural potency (1981a: 78; also L. V. 3: 4122-4131). The training of novices can take several years (Katz 1982: 139-140). In the Kalahari, novices are often trained by family members and the close contact between novice and teacher is very important – *“They are in constant and intimate contact, throughout the day, not just at the dance”* (Katz 1982: 138). Marjorie Shostak adds: *“This apprenticeship involves a profound dependency on the teacher, which seems to help the novice drop his defences, thereby making possible the altered state of consciousness...”* (1981: 294).

The greatest variety of animal associations exists in this category which supports my argument that these are ordinary and novice ritual specialists because in learning to acquire and regulate supernatural potency and the associated visioning processes, a greater variety of imagery would be experienced (Dietrich 2003: 247-248; Shannon 2003: 128, 2010: 265; Diaz 2010: 167-169; Froese *et al* 2013: 2009). This evidence may suggest that depictions of men ritual specialists without equipment are paintings of young men. Consideration must also be given to whether these depictions represent a third gender or non-defining gender.

Third gender and gynandromorphs

Both Sven Ouzman (1997) and Tilman Lenssen-Erz (1997) argue for the experience of other genders. In the former, this non-defining gender is linked to the multiple experiences of gender that ritual specialists can experience whilst in trance recorded by other groups of people around the world (also Stevenson 1995: 129). For the latter, un-sexed figures portray a ‘non-conflicting’ third gender – neither male nor female – another gender category. While there are paintings of the sensations experienced during altered states of consciousness, such as the raised hairs along the back, flecks of supernatural potency, nasal blood, and so forth, I argue the focus of these paintings is not solely to demonstrate these sensations, but also the proficiency of the ritual specialists to control and manage these sensations – their ability to acquire and regulate supernatural potency.

Sven Ouzman (1997: 100; Fig. 27) illustrates his argument for the experience of multiple genders with an engraving of two figures with large, rounded buttocks, one of which has breasts clearly represented, but with what also appear to be ‘penises’, although the penises could be aprons. If these

are depictions of penises, they are a very rare example of gynandromorphs, and the only one of people I have seen. The figures are not carrying bows, arrows and quivers, and the only 'male' articulation is their penises. I believe these penises more likely indicate the status and proficiency of these women ritual specialists (see penis explanation p. 101).

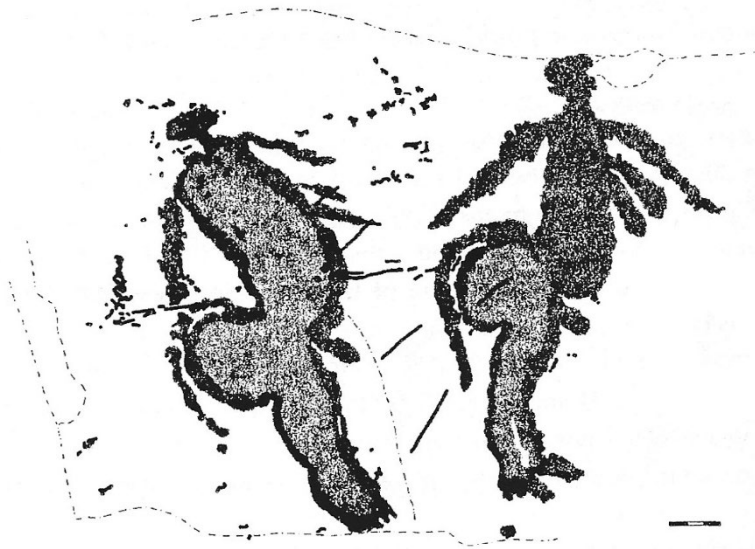


Figure 27: San rock engraving of two gynandromorphs from central South Africa. After Ouzman 1997: 100.

Judith Stevenson (1995: 77) also uses examples of therianthropes with female animal heads – in one case a rhebok and another an elephant – to argue that these are representations of transformed women ritual specialists. The difficulty here is these female animals may have been chosen for their symbolic spectrum – connections to female rain, which I do not discuss here – and not to indicate the gender of the ritual specialist. I have found one painting which may be of a woman therianthrope with breasts at LEL4 (Area 2). Judith Stevenson gives an example of a therianthrope with breasts (Fig. 28), but it is unclear whether the head of the woman is superimposed on the head of a male rhebok – we do not know the context of the site but it may indicate a woman ritual specialist accessing the potency of a male rhebok (see also Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004).

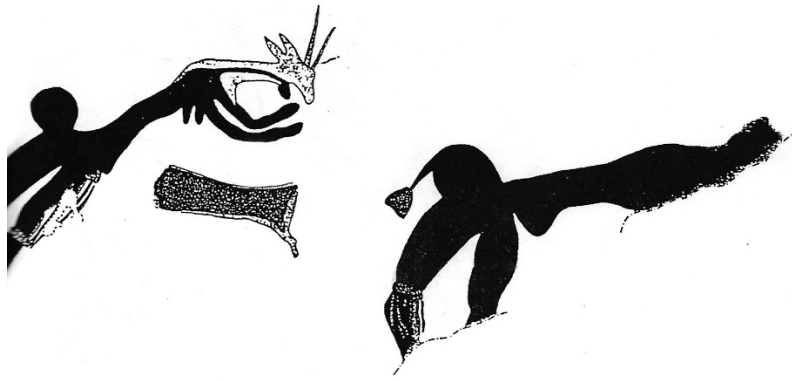


Figure 28: Female therianthrope? from the Queenstown area. After Stevenson 1995: Figure 5.

Ordinary men ritual specialists and novices

I do not argue the San of Areas 1 and 2 *simply* identified with men and/or women genders, or that their gendered experiences were not multiple and complex. What I do argue is that they chose not to represent these multiple genders in the paintings or did so in way that we do not recognise. I have considered that different experiences of gender may be portrayed in paintings of men wearing women's aprons, or in men and women holding sticks without bored stones. These paintings may show men and women expressing a unique experience of other genders, manifesting and/or using some element of this gender, or expressing a ritual inversion. They may also have more to do with status and control, indicating their proficiency as ritual specialists, rather than the experience of complex or inverted gender, which I argue is the case. Frequency and patterning are important – there are no repeated paintings of women with hunting equipment, paintings of gynandromorphs, or any category that suggests mixed or multiple genders. Thus, the paintings appear to depict the experiences of men and women and not people in ritual inversion or with multiple genders.

While more research is needed, I suggest the most likely explanation for indeterminate tall and thin figures is that they are men, hunters, and ritual specialists. Furthermore, the age of these figures may be an important part of their identity. Thus, age, hunter status, and ritual specialist status, combine in these gendered identities. I continue my argument for paintings of men in the category of paintings of figures with penises.

Figures with penises

Of the paintings of figures with penises in the research area, 69.09% are painted erect (n=76). Most of these figures are holding and carrying hunting equipment, or sticks, and are bent forward, standing or walking. Their hunting equipment identifies them as 'hunter'. Young men usually start their training to be ritual specialists in their late teens, and those that eventually do become ritual specialists usually do so between ~25 and 35 because learning how to control supernatural potency is very difficult (Katz 1982: 142-145; Hewitt 1986: 216). This indicates that paintings of figures with penises are paintings of mature men. It is very difficult to discern a 'young man or boy' category and I argue it is suggested in paintings of indeterminate figures without equipment and those that depict training novices (see p. 164-165). Regarding older men, Edward Eastwood (2005: 5, 13) has argued that flaccid penises indicate men past their sexual prime, or older men. This appears very difficult to prove because it may signify age or a true reflection of physiology. Not all men's penises stand upright when erect. The second largest category was very long or large penises (18.2%; n=20), and then the smallest category flaccid penises (5.5%; n=6). I argue that these paintings of figures with penises represent experienced and accomplished men ritual specialists. Furthermore, I argue that paintings of penis infibulation (n=9; 8.2%) identifies preeminent ritual specialists (not *sensu* Dowson 1994, 1998; Blundell 2004).

Experienced and preeminent ritual specialists

There is ample evidence to show that there were highly respected men and women ritual specialists who became extremely proficient in acquiring, managing, and controlling supernatural potency. For example, Ttanno !khauken (L. V. 10: 4707-4743), ||Kunnu (L. VIII. 7: 6639 rev-6646 rev.), !Nuin|kúiten (L. V. 14: 5068rev.-5078-rev.), ||Kunn (L. V. 22: 5743-5754), /Kaùnu (L. VIII. 31: 8759-8762, 8743 rev., 8748 rev.), !Kwarra-an (L. V. 3: 4132-4161, 4: 4162-4199), /Uhérre (L. V. 10: 4778-4795-4868), are mentioned as being proficient /Xam ritual specialists of the rain, game, or healing. In two accounts, Díä!kwāin distinguishes between accomplished ritual specialists and ordinary ones: *"A man who is an old rain medicine man and knows how people work with the rain-bull will lead, the men whom he teaches will follow"* and *"This man who stands in front seems to be showing the people how to dance; that is why he holds a stick, for he feels that he is a great man. So he holds a dancing stick, because he is the one who dances before the people, that they may dance after him..."* (L. V. 22: 5755-5760).

This information is supported by Richard Katz's (1982) research with Ju/'hoānsi of the Kalahari who recognise experienced and preeminent ritual specialists as opposed to ordinary ritual specialists. He lists five criteria of power found in extraordinary ritual specialists (1982: 241-242):

1. The ability to receive *n/um* easily, and at an early age, as well as the gaining of special knowledge from the activation of *n/um*.
2. The ability to control supernatural potency. They can go into an altered state of consciousness quickly and control the ever-deepening trance, as well as being able to heal regularly, sometimes daily.
3. Their effectiveness and ability to deal with the most difficult cases. They also deal with all cases as opposed to other, less powerful ritual specialists who are selective because they lack the capability.
4. The charismatic presence the ritual specialist has at dances and ability to dominate the rhythm and atmosphere of a dance. Other dancers may orient their movements around them and sing the songs these ritual specialists prefer. Additionally, special dances can be held with the primary purpose of releasing the *n/um* of a particularly powerful ritual specialist.
5. These ritual specialists have a separate identity – they devote most of their time to being ritual specialists.

This information and the following indicate that status plays a role. The following is a conversation between Richard Katz and a preeminent Ju/'hoānsi ritual specialist, Toma Zho (1984: 186). Toma Zho recounts:

These dances would go on all day, and people would be lying all over the place. By nighttime I'd go to sleep. I'd go to sleep with one woman on my left side and one on my right. And when I lay down, I'd suddenly realise what kind of a spot I was in. 'What the hell, you mean there is a woman on either side of me?' And then what happened is that both would start after me, and each one wanted to have sex first, each one wanted to get sex first. And then I'd say, 'Oh, no! What a place is this. What a place we're in. Are these girls crazy?' We used to do it, but now I'm too old for that sort of thing. I used to really like it. I used to get two, but sometimes I still get the urge to get three. Boy, was I an expert! Boy, was I a smart dancer in those days! We used to dance the whole night while the women sat and sang. I used to do sex. I used to get a lot of it, but today I am too old.

Katz: *N/um or sex?*

Toma Zho: *Sex.*

Katz: *Toma Zho, if a guy has a lot of n/um, is he also a big lover?*

Toma Zho: *The women used to love me. They were crazy about me, because I was a healer, because I was a dancer, because I was good at everything.*

Katz: *Did the women really like the healers?*

Toma Zho: *Yes, the women really did like the healers. Whenever I see one who is just getting n/um, I'd say, 'Think of the sex the guy's going to get!' I remember all the sex I used to get as a healer. Yes, the women really like the healers, but first and foremost, they liked me.*

I do not emphasise the sexual arousal that is felt in many rituals (Xygalatas *et al* 2019), but rather the status Toma Zho claims as an experienced ritual specialist and lover. The importance of status and reputation in being powerful healers is emphasised by Richard Katz (1982: 243):

...as healers become more powerful, they may create stories about that power, which in turn enhance that power. Stories as metaphors to express the strength of n/um are accepted by the !Kung and not viewed as 'lies'.

It is unusual for men to not wear loincloths indicating that these are not ordinary men. At times they are painted wearing women's aprons which supports this argument. These men transcend the norms of ordinary men. Additionally, these painted penises, all different (Fig. 29), may indicate specific individuals in San communities who were respected for their experience and prowess as ritual specialists. In Area 1, 10.9% (n=6) of the penises are infibulated (different types of penis attachments Willcox 1978), and in Area 2, I identified two sites where the penises may be infibulated (n=3; 5.5%). I suggest these paintings of infibulation are a visual device to emphasise the penis, and the pre-eminence of the ritual specialist. I do not agree these figures refer to sex avoidance, puberty rites, or hunting rites as previous argued (see Vinnicombe 1976: 257-259). I recorded penis infibulation in the middle painted layers only. This may suggest an idiosyncratic painted device that was not long-lived and/or one that was used by a specific group of ritual specialist artists to self-identify, supported by a site I have recently rediscovered in Area 1 (Fig. 30).

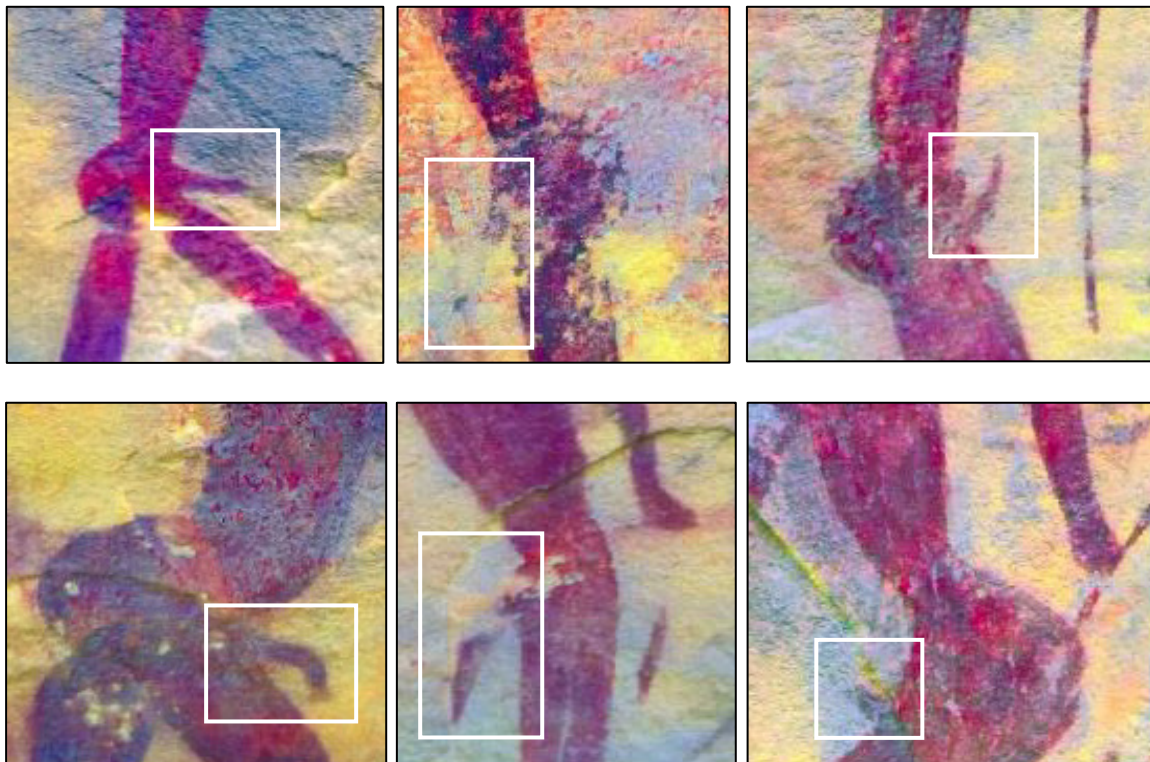


Figure 29: Example of differently depicted penises in one group of men in BOP1 Area 1 (all Dstretch LDS).

This evidence suggests that, like ordinary men ritual specialists, age, hunter status, and ritual specialist status, form a vital part of their gendered identities. The emphasis on individual ritual specialists may also suggest a collective identity that conditioned young ritual specialists in training. These paintings may depict individual, known-to-the-community, experienced, and preeminent ritual specialists who are portraying their individual gendered identities and status, and in so doing, an ideal to aspire to. This is supported by many penises being depicted differently (Fig. 29). It could be argued these different depictions of penises indicate different artists, but I argue it more likely the artists were indicating individuals in their communities, which I will test with further research.

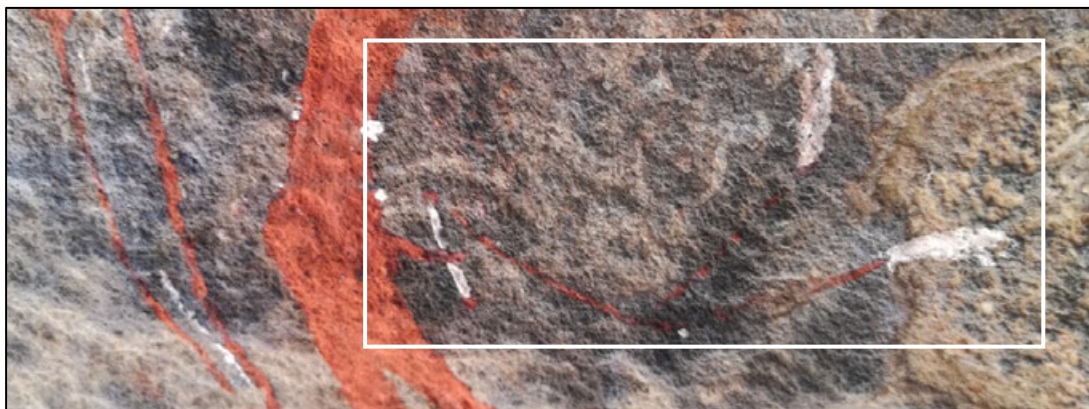
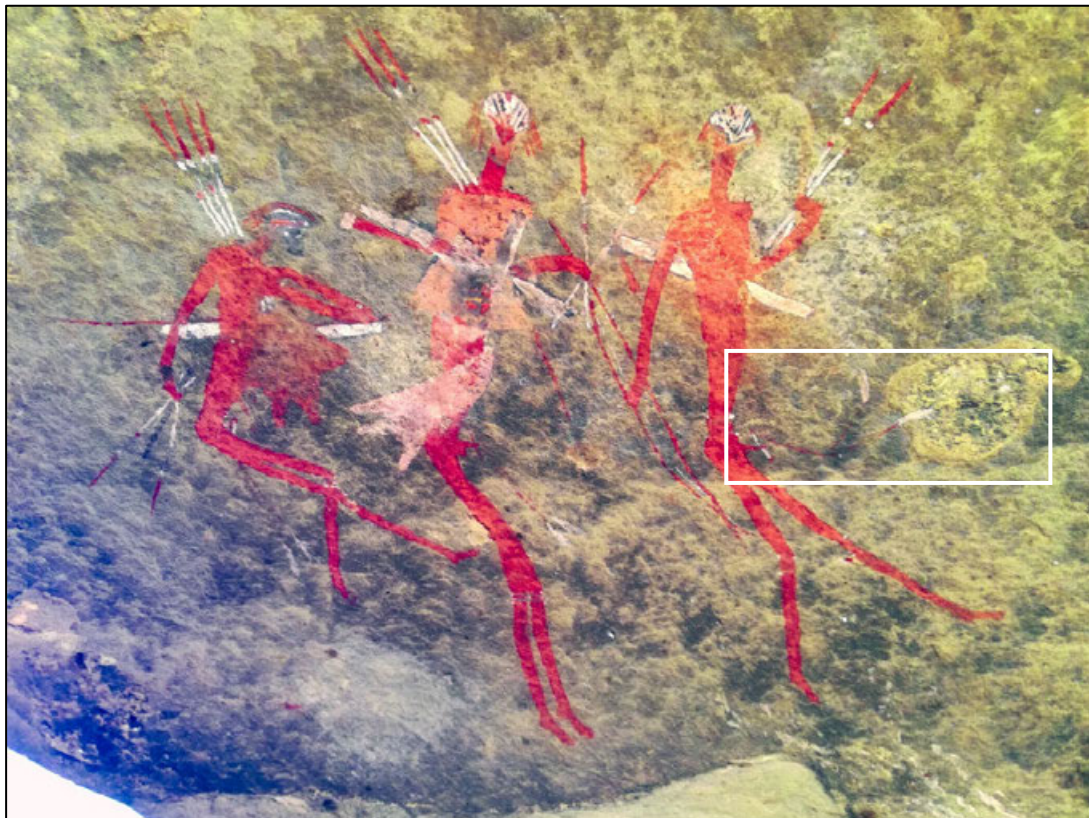


Figure 30: Painting of three men ritual specialists with tassels with feathered ends attached to their penis infibulation (Area 1). All three penises depicted differently. Top enhancement Dstretch LDS.

Artists followed conventions in the way in which they depicted their worlds (Lewis-Williams 1995: 5). It seems highly likely that just as young men and women were trained to become ritual specialists, the same type of training occurred for artists (see Sterling 2005). This can explain the relative homogeneity in style and content of paintings in specific areas of the Drakensberg and surrounding areas. Just as training to use supernatural potency was passed down through generations, so was painting. Thus, painting men without penises to denote ordinary and novice ritual specialists became accepted practice, as did signifying powerful men ritual specialists with penises. I now turn to what I argue are paintings of women.

Figures with breasts

Most of the paintings of figures with breasts were recorded in Area 2. In this category, I distinguish between breasts that droop and those that do not. I argue, following Edward Eastwood (2005: 6-7), that paintings of breasts that do not droop are paintings of girls, and paintings of breasts that do droop are paintings of mature women. There is no evidence to suggest that women bound their breasts, and with the science of gravity I believe it secure to assume that drooping breasts signify mature women. However, I think it difficult to distinguish an age-range of mature to very old as Edward Eastwood does, as women's breast size, shape, and droop are different and dependent on the individual. Thus, I argue that all paintings of drooping breasts are paintings of mature women, and an old age category is very difficult to determine from breasts alone. I recorded paintings of girls unequivocally in one site only in Area 2 which I do not present due to word limitations.

When figures with breasts are painted with equipment, it is either sticks, or sticks with bored stones. None of these figures with sticks are painted with plants or in a posture that is reminiscent of digging. Indeed, I do not know of any paintings of plants in Area 1 or Area 2. I have only seen a single painting of a woman holding a digging stick next to a plant (Vinnicombe 1976: 280; Ouzman 1997: 93; Fig. 31). The plant bears resemblance to *Albuca setosa* which is found in the area where the painting was recorded. Its present-day uses are as a protective charm against lightning, to end quarrels between enemies, and in ritual cleansing (Pooley 1998: 94). This may indicate that this painting of a woman and plant is a painting of a specific, experienced woman ritual specialist and healer (also arguments for sprinting figures p. 159).



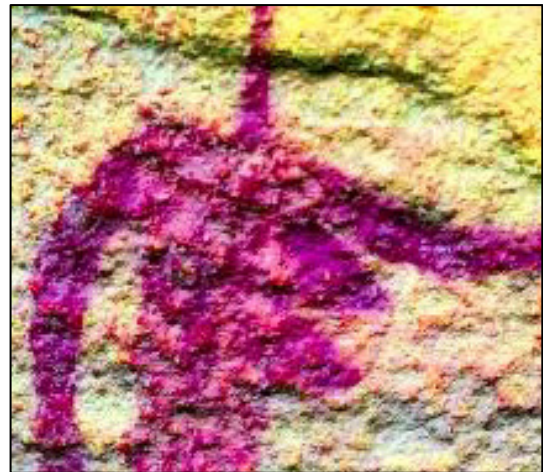
Figure 31: Woman with bag, digging stick, and plant, possibly *Albuca setosa* from central Drakensberg. After Vinnicombe 1976: 280 and Ouzman 1997: 93; Scale bar 30 mm.

With the overwhelming evidence from the ethnography that links sticks to ritual specialists, hunting, and rain, I argue that these paintings of figures with breasts are paintings of women ritual specialists. Of additional support is that women with breasts are painted similarly whether they are carrying sticks or not and are often depicted in trance performance poses. They are also painted in similar iconographic contexts to men ritual specialists – next to other men and women ritual specialists, with female and male eland, female rhebok, lions, and felines.

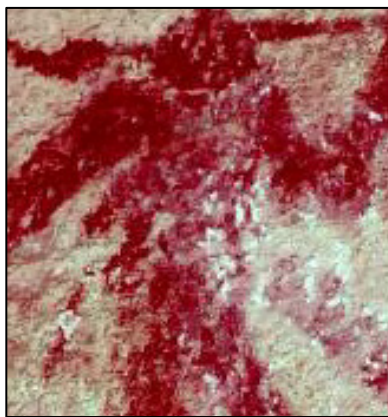
Further supporting these arguments is the specific clothing and body decoration I recorded. Women ritual specialists, like figures with large buttocks, have the least amount of discernible body decoration although the bands that are depicted are identical to those of men ritual specialists. At times, they wear *karosses* and front aprons, the former's significance already shown. Of import is the latter, because it is very unusual for women to be without aprons, especially back aprons. Women's buttocks were often considered to be highly erotic and associated with sex (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 44). This implies, like their male counterparts, that these are not ordinary women, and they transcend the norms of ordinary women. Like paintings of men ritual specialists with penises, these women with breasts (Fig. 32) may identify specific experienced and preeminent women ritual specialists in the community.



Dstretch LDS.



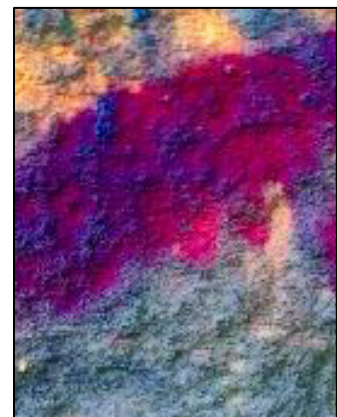
Dstretch LDS.



Dstretch YRE.



Dstretch YRD.



Dstretch LDS.

Figure 32: Paintings of differently shaped breasts in one painted cluster in one site in Area 2.

If painting penises and breasts were merely a strategy to sex a person, we may expect to find wo/men painted similarly in all layers. We do not. Paintings of women differ; paintings of women ritual specialists are mostly found in Area 2, and in the middle painted layers. Thus, I argue that paintings of figures with breasts identify experienced women ritual specialists who may have been known to the community, and while women's hunting was considered similar to men's, especially regarding ants and termites, their gender, age, and ritual specialist status may be more important to their identities than their hunter status. I now turn to my arguments for the other category of women I have identified.

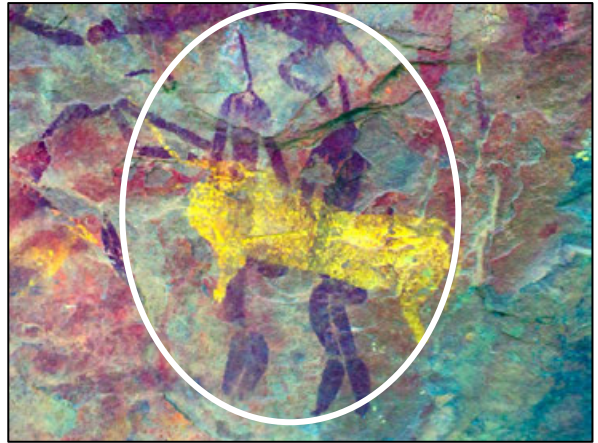
Indeterminate figures with large buttocks

I counted a total of 42 figures with large buttocks in Area 2, and none in Area 1. These figures are identical to paintings of women with breasts although breasts are not depicted. They have the same large buttocks, thicker thighs and sometimes, protruding stomachs. They are predominantly painted with their arms in trance performance poses (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 40-43), and are painted with bent forward figures, men holding sticks, figures wearing *karosses*, women holding sticks with bored stones, eland, rhebok, and feline – similar contexts to paintings of women ritual specialists. They are not painted clapping. They are not tall and thin like paintings of men, with and without penises. This repeated patterning suggests these are paintings of women ritual specialists. Like their male counterparts, men ritual specialists without penises, I argue these are paintings of ordinary women ritual specialists, and novices.

The contexts in which they are painted give support to this argument – they are depicted in groups and rows in trance performance poses but never as playing a ‘central’ position in these paintings as paintings of experienced men and women ritual specialists do (Fig. 33). They are painted with the least amount of body decoration. Like experienced women ritual specialists, they are depicted without back aprons that indicate these are not ordinary women. They are also depicted with the least amount of equipment although they are shown holding sticks and sticks with bored stones. I argue these contexts negate the possibility that they represent dancers who join in the dance but are not focused on learning how to acquire and regulate supernatural potency (see Katz 1982: 76). Thus, the woman gendered identity and ritual specialist status of these figures is emphasised. The final category I explain is figures seated clapping.



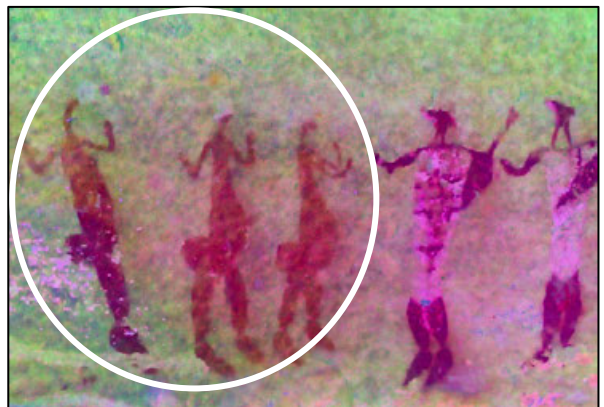
Dstretch LDS.



Dstretch LDS.



Dstretch LDS.



Dstretch CRGB.

Figure 33: Painted contexts of ordinary and novice women ritual specialists. White circles identify women ritual specialists without breasts. Note attenuated necks in women top photos.

Figures seated clapping

Figures seated clapping are depicted sitting with their knees up, clapping their hands together, sometimes with splayed fingers and attenuated necks, and sometimes breasts are depicted. Clapping with the fingers opened produces an explosive sound (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 42). During the trance dance, groups of women and men sing and clap which helps to activate and regulate supernatural potency (L. VIII. 1: 6108-6127; Katz 1982: 61; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 42; Fig. 34). While all these paintings may be of women, they may also include men. I argue their gender is not as important as their actions in supporting the activation and regulation of supernatural potency (see Katz 1982: 122-127 for critical role of song in helping ritual specialists to acquire and regulate supernatural potency). These paintings may also refer to specific groups known to communities that support preminent ritual specialists. In his description of Wa Na, the most powerful healer in Dobe, Richard Katz describes how a group of women would sing and clap for her, “*putting on the dance just*

so her n/um could be activated. They were her regular supporters and followers, valuing this special relationship with Wa Na and the intimacy with her n/um it entailed” (Katz 1982: 223). Thus, paintings of people seated clapping may well identify the ritual specialists they are painted with as preeminent. Before I summarise my arguments for gendered identities, I briefly make a few points about the animal associations of paintings of ritual specialists which I extend further in my detailed site comparison.



Figure 34: Figures seated clapping from Area 2. Note their attenuated necks which suggest a somatic experience of altered states of consciousness (Dstretch LDS).

Ritual specialists and animals

Men and women ritual specialists are repeatedly painted on top of, underneath, next to, walking or standing amongst, touching, above, below, or to the side of paintings of fat male and female animals (Fig. 35, 36). This patterning is not random and whether painted in a single episode, or multiple episodes of painting, shows a deliberate juxtapositioning and/or superpositioning by successive artists (also Lewis-Williams 1992; 1995: 18; McGranaghan & Challis 2016). This positioning of people and animals is highly unusual because in the natural world these animals would run away, or the people would.

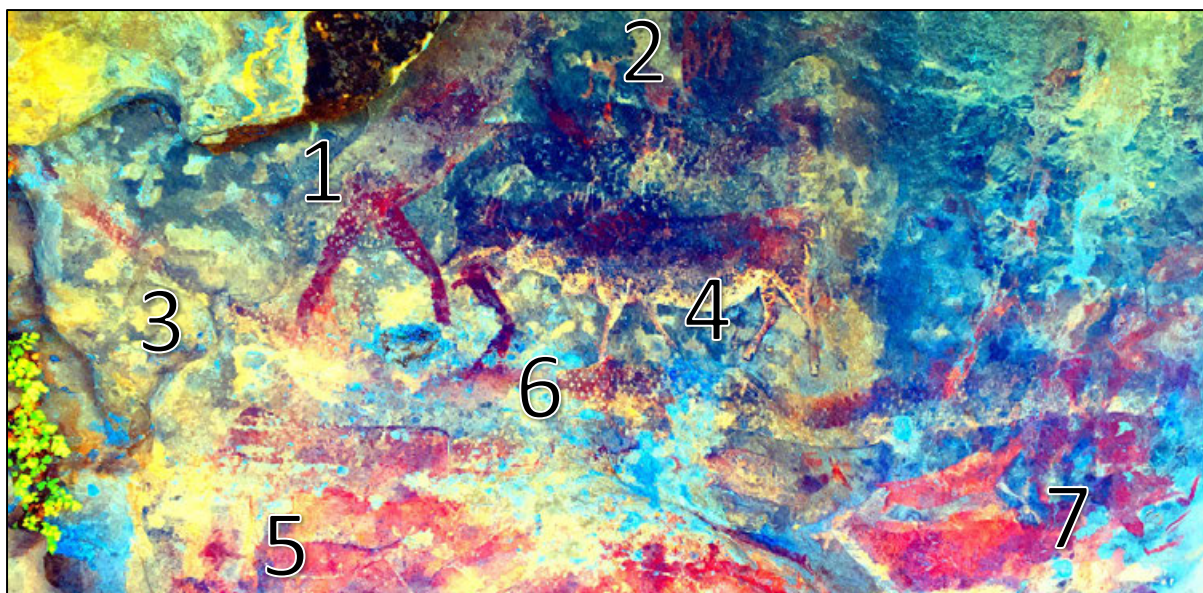


Figure 35: Example of painted contexts of ritual specialists and animals Area 1 (Dstretch LDS).

1. Ritual specialist with penis touching female eland with stick. 2. Antelope-headed figure seated front-on with legs open. 3. Snake appears to be coming out from crack in rock face. 4. Fat female eland. 5. Female rhebok. 6. White dots are painted flying termites (Green *et al* 2007) depicted moving in and out of rock face. 7. Bent forward ritual specialists painted next to eland, hartebeest, and rhebok.

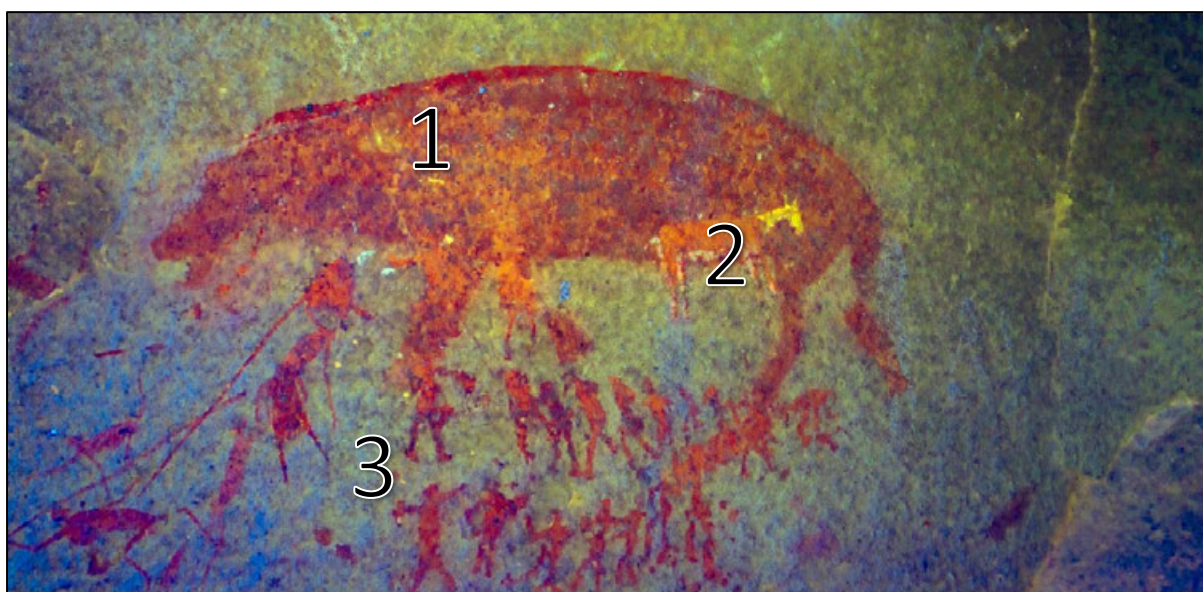


Figure 36: Examples of painted contexts of ritual specialists and animals Area 2 (Dstretch LDS).

1. Hippo? with red line painted around it; possible rain-animal? 2. Indeterminate antelope, possible female eland. 3. Rows of indeterminate ritual specialists, one bent forward, two touching hippo.

I argue these paintings portray the ritual specialists' expertise in controlling the supernatural potency of these animals, and in the case of some animals, the animals themselves (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; McGranaghan & Challis 2016). By painting fat animals, we assume that the rain has fallen to provide food for these animals to become fat, and thus, can assume that these ritual specialists have been successful in calling the rain. An important part of this

success is people behaving nicely and following customary procedures. People doing so was especially important for ritual specialists who had to 'fix' any problems whether illness, lack of rain, lack of game, lack of sharing, and psychological imbalances (Lewis-Williams 1982; McGranaghan & Challis 2016). Thus, it may well be that in certain paintings of male and female animals, nice behaviours and following customary procedures are emphasised. The sex of animals and the way they are portrayed play a role in understanding gendered relationships.

GENDER AND RITUAL SPECIALISTS

The paintings of Area 1 and Area 2 focus on ritual specialists and their experiences because of the way in which these figures are clothed, decorated, the equipment they are associated with, and the surrounding painted human and animal contexts. The evidence suggests that there are three painted categories of ritual specialists – those that are experienced and preeminent, those that are ordinary, and those that are novices. Furthermore, these paintings of men with penises and women with breasts may indicate specific individuals – the people viewing the paintings may well have known which ritual specialists were referred to. Their painted gendered contexts emphasise not only their roles as wo/men ritual specialists which may differ, but also shows they transcend the bounds of ordinary people.

Age is a factor in their gendered identities and young men and women may be depicted in paintings of ritual specialists without penises and breasts, just as figures with penises and breasts identify mature men and women. Their status as hunter forms part of this identity but this hunter status may be emphasised more in paintings of men ritual specialists. Paintings of ritual specialists associated with animals may provide more detail on their gendered identities and specific activities they undertook, as well as the roles they played in their communities. Additionally, these contexts may provide more information on the differences between the two areas. The most marked difference is that women ritual specialists are mostly depicted in Area 2. I have used the evidence from my quantitative study of Area 1 and Area 2 to suggest explanations for the people depicted and their gendered identities. I test and develop these theories further in a single site analysis, one from each research area.

GENDERED ENTANGLEMENTS: SITE COMPARISON

In this section I test my ideas by way of a detailed site comparison; avoiding the practise of selecting motifs from many different sites. I here describe BOP1 Area 1 and LEL4 Area 2 and detail the paintings I recorded in the painted layers found at these sites. I begin with BOP1, present the paintings, and then move to LEL4 and repeat. I then identify and explain the patterning between the two sites regarding gendered identities.

AREA 1: BOP1

BOP1 is situated on a boulder-strewn sandstone ridge in the high Eastern Cape Drakensberg (Fig. 37). The site is north facing and approximately 11 x 3.5 x 7 m. The hillside slopes away from the site and it is surrounded by indigenous trees and bush, as well as some Wattle (*Acacia sp.*) exotics, and this bush limits the view out of and into the shelter. There is shelter from the wind but not the rain, and because of the number of fallen rocks, the shelter is difficult to move around in. Due to the indigenous bush, boulders and fallen rock, it appears unlikely the site would have accommodated dances. I have worked on an area of roughly 20m² based on estimations of group size and a small space for a fire from ethnographic descriptions (Lee 1979; Katz 1982; Marshall 1999: 64). There is another unpainted shelter directly west of this shelter that may have accommodated dances, but the people would be unable to see the paintings. Clapping echoes across the valley, but not so much in the painted shelter. I counted over 60 surface lithics, some with retouch, four whole and partial upper grindstones, and four pieces of pottery with an orange slip. There are three painted 'clusters', one on the west of the shelter (~3.3 x 1.3 m) and two on the east (Cluster 2 ~1.6 x 1.2 m; Cluster 3 ~.25 x .25 m). A cluster is a collection of paintings but avoids the art historical associations of a word like 'scene'. I treat all paintings as associated by virtue of being at the same site, although acknowledge there are meaningful, focused associations within this larger rubric of 'association'. I recorded 78 humans with: indeterminates (31), indeterminates with equipment (20), indeterminates bent forward (8), figures with penises (17), figures with breasts? (1), and 1 therianthrope.



Figure 37: Location of BOP1 with clusters marked. Site indicated by arrow; to right of rocks and hidden by trees (top).

1. Cluster 1. 2. Cluster 2. 3. Cluster 3.

BOP1 Cluster 1 painted layers

I recorded three layers of paintings in Cluster 1.

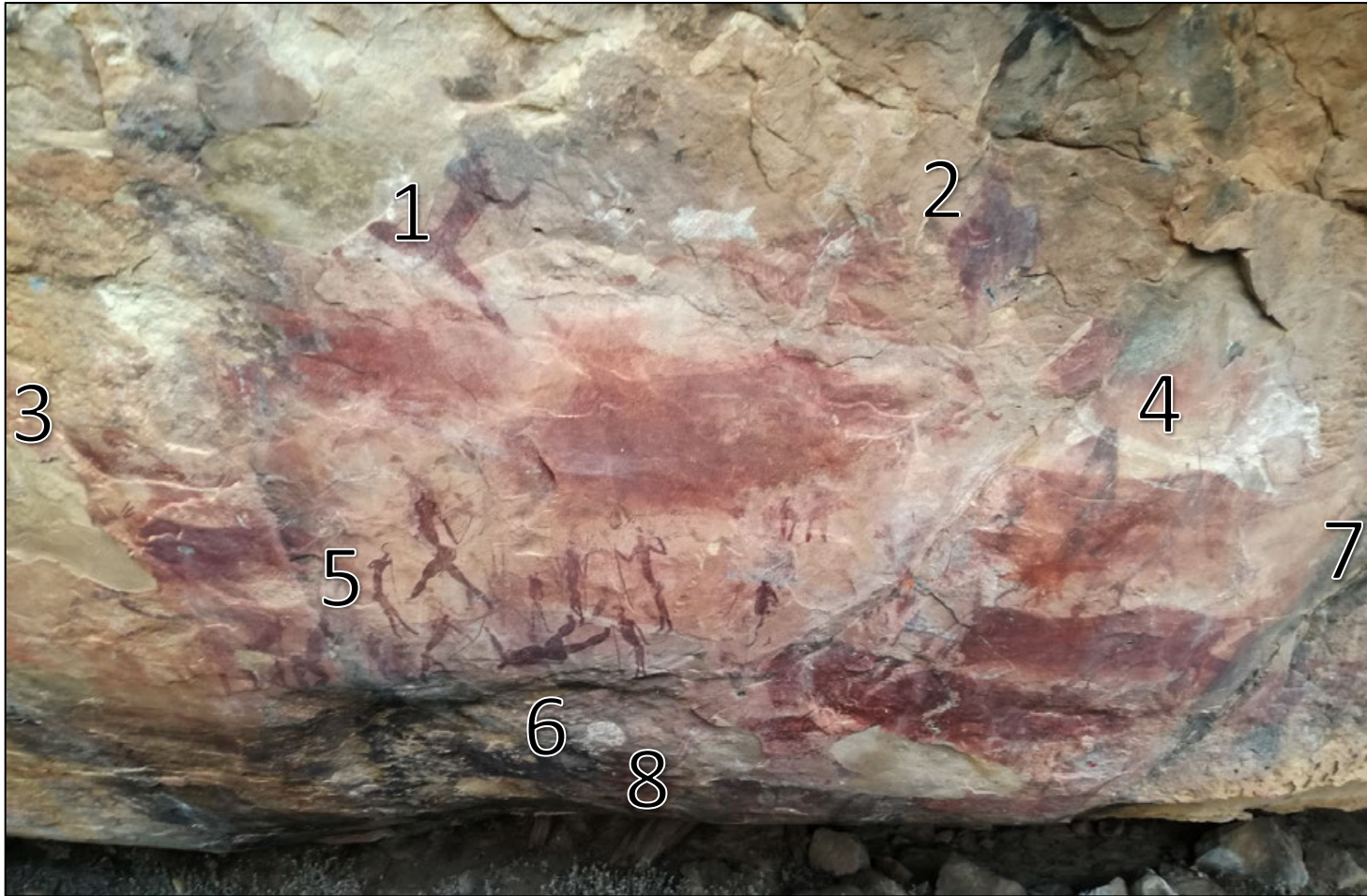


Figure 38: BOP1 Cluster 1 'Central' paintings (Layers 1-3).

1. Sprinting figures (Fig. 78). 2. Female eland from behind (Fig. 77). 3. Paintings of men ritual specialists with male antelope/eland to left, not seen (Fig. 41). 4. Sprinting fat female eland (Fig. 78). 5. Men ritual specialists with woman? lying down (Fig. 69). 6. White stand-alone head (Fig. 42). 7. Paintings on boss of rock to right, not seen (Fig. 39). 8. Eland, snake and rhebok below, not seen (Fig. 40).

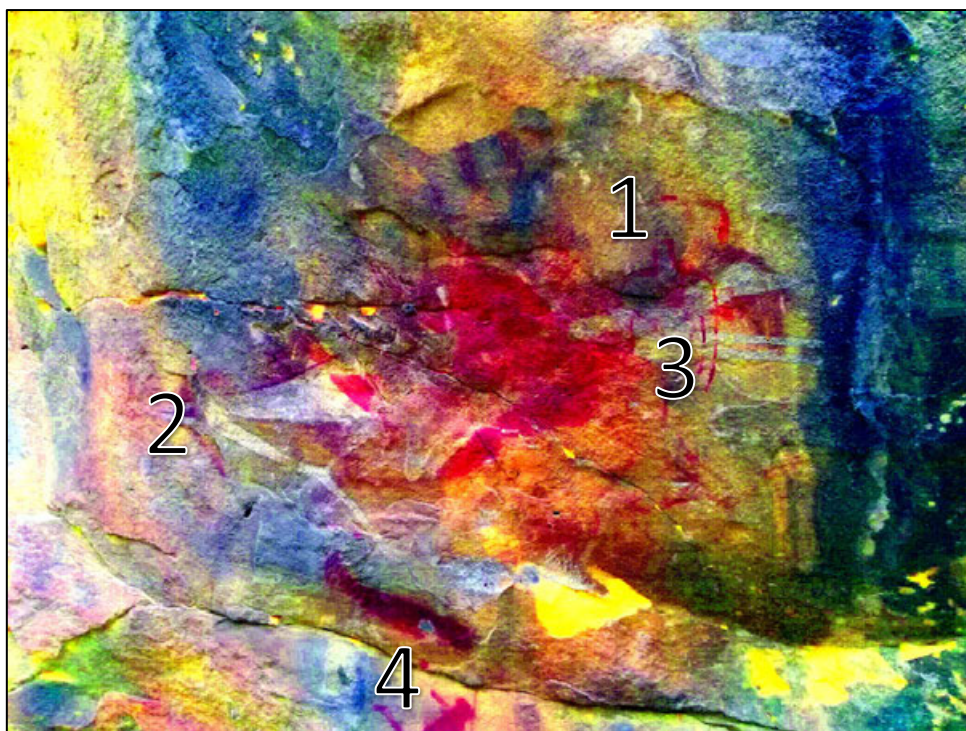


Figure 39: BOP1 Cluster 1 Paintings on boss of rock to right of 'central' paintings (Layers 1 & 2; Dstretch LDS).

1. Heads and torsos of two figures in red and white paint. 2. Extreme bent forward figure in red and white paint. 3. Sprinting female rhebok in white paint. 4. Red hartebeest? and running ritual specialist below.

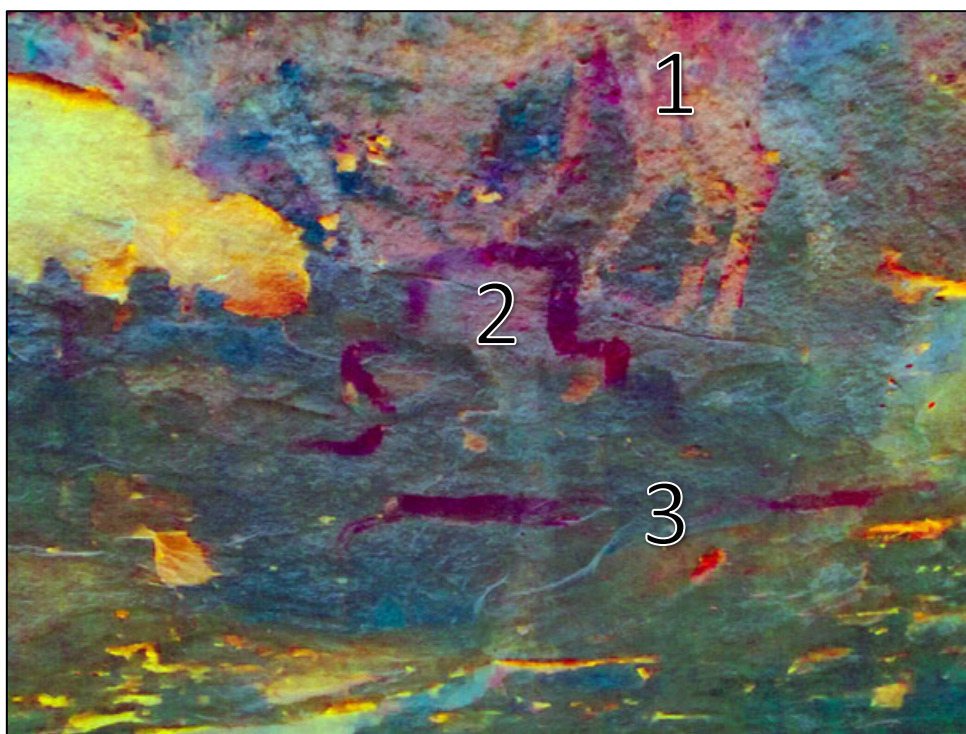


Figure 40: BOP1 Cluster 1 Eland?, snake and rhebok (Layer 1; Dstretch LDS).

1. Eland? 2. Snake. 3. Rhebok running in row.



Figure 41: BOP1 Cluster 1 Paintings to left of 'central' cluster (Layers 1-3).

1. Three men ritual specialists with male antelope/eland. 2. Red and white heads. 3. Two white female rhebok. 4. Seated figures.



Figure 42: BOP1 Cluster 1 White human head and shoulders, above eland and snake (Unknown layer).

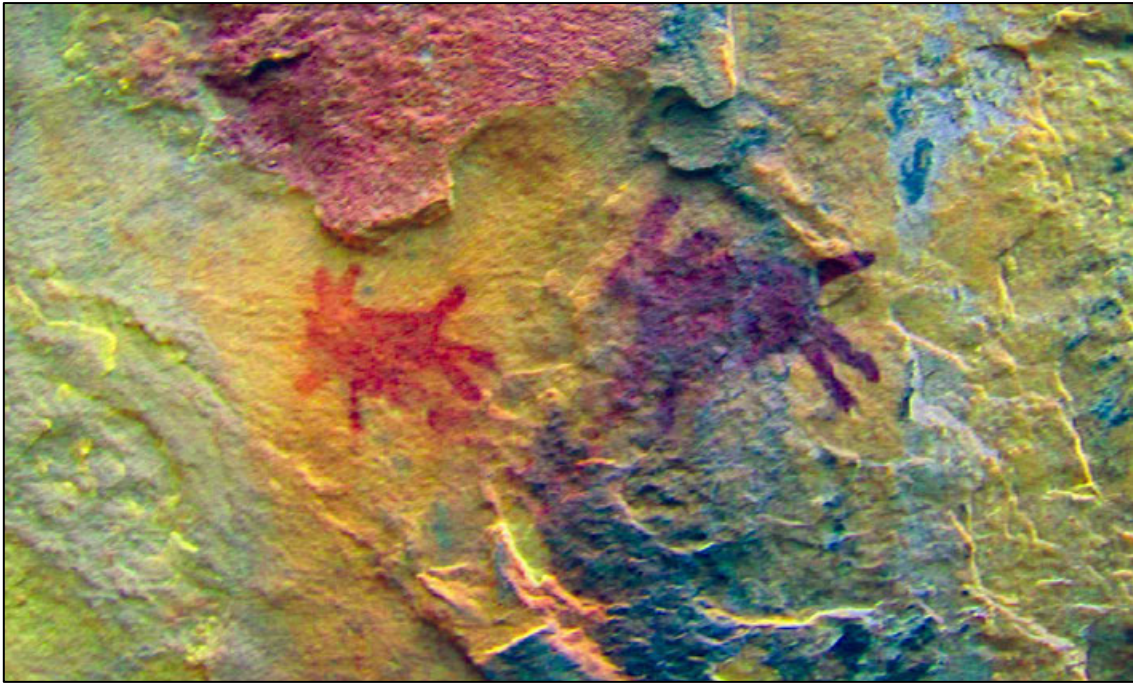


Figure 43: BOP1 Cluster 1 Rough brush paintings of indeterminate animals (Unknown layer; Dstretch LDS).

Table 11: Central paintings BOP1 Cluster 1 Layer 1.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 1							
CENTRAL PAINTINGS							
Eland Male	5	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	Standing?	Male eland, female eland, eland indeterminate	Red figures, 1 large fat female eland sprinting
Eland Female	7	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	2 walking, 2 standing, 1 from behind, 2 upside down.	Male eland, eland indeterminate	Red figures
Eland indeterminate	5	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	Standing?	Male eland, female eland, eland indeterminate, snake	Red figures
Snake	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Undulating	Eland indeterminate, Mountain Reedbuck female	
Mountain Reedbuck female	2	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	Sprinting	Snake	

Table 11.1: Paintings to right of central paintings BOP1 Cluster 1 Layer 1.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 1							
PAINTINGS TO RIGHT ON BOSS OF ROCK							
Antelope Indeterminate	3	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	Standing, unclear?	Indeterminate antelope, indeterminate figures	Red figures
Figure Indeterminate	1	Fine	Black/Red?	Bichrome?	Unclear	Indeterminate antelope, red figures	Red figures
Figures indeterminate	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Unclear	Indeterminate antelope	Red & white figures

Table 11.2 : Central paintings BOP1 Cluster 1 Layer 2.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 2							
Figure penis, figure indeterminate	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	1 unclear, stick?; 1 sprinting, quiver, arrow, eared cap.	Male and female eland	
Figure penis	1	Fine	Red & white	Bichrome	Sprinting, quiver, bow, eared cap.	Behind sprinting super-fat female eland	White sprinting men with indeterminate animals
Figures indeterminate	3	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Unclear, 1 quiver.	On top of eland with other figures	
Figures indeterminate	2				1 open legged, 3 bent forward, 2 arms straight out. 2 quivers, bows with arrows and 1 with flywhisk. 2 <i>karosses</i>		
Figures penis	2						
Figures male (bows, quivers)	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome		On top of eland with other figures	
Figures indeterminate	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Walking, arms straight	Female eland	

Table 11.3: Paintings to right of central paintings BOP1 Cluster 1 Layer 2.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 2							
PAINTINGS TO RIGHT ON BOSS OF ROCK							
Figures indeterminate	3	Fine	Red & white	Bichrome	2 only heads and shoulders; 1 extreme bent forward	Indeterminate antelope & figures; sprinting rhebok	
Rhebok female	1	Fine	White	Monochrome	Sprinting	Indeterminate antelope & figures	
Figures indeterminate	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Extreme bent forward, sprinting; 1 quiver with arrows, eared cap?	Indeterminate antelope & figures; sprinting rhebok	
Figure male (bow, arrows)	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Sprinting; quiver, holding two arrows	Below hartebeest; above female eland	
Hartebeest	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing?	Sprinting figure	

Table 11.4: Paintings to left of central paintings BOP1 Cluster 1 Layer 2.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 2							
CLUSTER 1 CENTRAL LEFT							
Figures male (bows, sticks) Figures penis	8 8	Fine	Red	Monochrome	6 bent forward, 2 arms bent up, 2 walking, 2 open legged, 1 drawing bow, 1 hand to nose, 1 running, 2 seated 1 with hand to nose and nasal bleed; 5 sticks, 5 bows, 4 karosses	Male and female eland; Men and woman ritual specialist?	Unclear white figures, 1 possible therianthropi c?
Figure breasts?	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Lying down, lines from head, kaross?	Male and female eland; men ritual specialists	Unclear white possible therianthropi c?

Table 11.5: Paintings to left of central paintings BOP1 Cluster 1 Layer 2.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 2							
CLUSTER 1 FAR LEFT							
Figure indeterminate	6	Fine	Red & white	Bichrome	Heads and shoulders remain	3 men with antelope possibly eland?	
Figure penis Figure male (bow)	2 1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	2 arms bent up, 1 bent forward, walking next to eland?; 3 bows	Male antelope possibly eland	
Figure male (bow)	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Sprinting; hunting bag?, bow	2 white female rhebok	1 white female rhebok
Rhebok	1	Fine	Red?	?	Sprinting; similar to two below snake	Below sprinting male figure	
Rhebok female	2	Coarse	White	Monochrome	Standing, 'looking' at figures with eland; 1 on top of sprinting red figure	Red sprinting figure; above sprinting rhebok in red	

Table 11.6: Central paintings BOP1 Cluster 1 Layer 3.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 3							
CENTRAL PAINTINGS							
Indeterminate figures with 1 possible therianthrope Figures penis Figures male (quiver)	4 2 1	Coarse	White	Monochrome	Majority unclear; 2 sprinting with 2 indeterminate animals; 2 holding arrows, 1 quiver?	Indeterminate animals, red sprinting figures, red sprinting female eland, group of men and woman ritual specialists	
Indeterminate animals	2	Coarse	White	Monochrome	2 sprinting figures with arrows	White sprinting figures, red sprinting figures, red sprinting female eland	

Table 11.7: BOP1 Cluster 1 Unknown layers.

BOP1							
CLUSTER 1 UNKNOWN LAYER	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CENTRAL PAINTINGS							
Indeterminate figure	1	Coarse thick	White	Monochrome	Head and shoulders	Painted above 2 eland and snake, painted below eland	
LEFT OF CENTRAL PAINTINGS, BELOW SEATED FIGURES							
Indeterminate animals	1	Coarse	Red				
ROUGH BRUSH	1	Coarse	Black	Monochrome	Running	Painted below seated figures	

BOP1 Cluster 2 painted layers

I recorded three layers of paintings in Cluster 2. There are painted remnants between Cluster 1 and 2. The paintings in both clusters are connected in subject matter, pigment types, layering, and 'style'.



Figure 44: BOP1 Cluster 2 (Layers 1-3).

1. White female rhebok (Fig. 82).
2. Male eland with thin red line and extreme bent forward ritual specialist (Fig. 45, 71).
3. Female eland (Fig. 45).
4. Feline running next to extreme bent forward ritual specialist and running ritual specialist (Fig. 46).
5. Female rhebok with calf (Fig. 47).
6. Row of female eland with white female rhebok below (Fig. 47).



Figure 45: BOP1 Cluster 2 Male and female eland with thin red line (Layers 1-3; Dstretch AC).

1. Male eland (highlighted penile sheath) with thin red line and extreme bent forward ritual specialist. 2. Female eland with bent forward ritual specialist below who has spoor or flecks on legs. 3. Feline with extreme bent forward ritual specialist and ritual specialist running below. 4. White female rhebok.

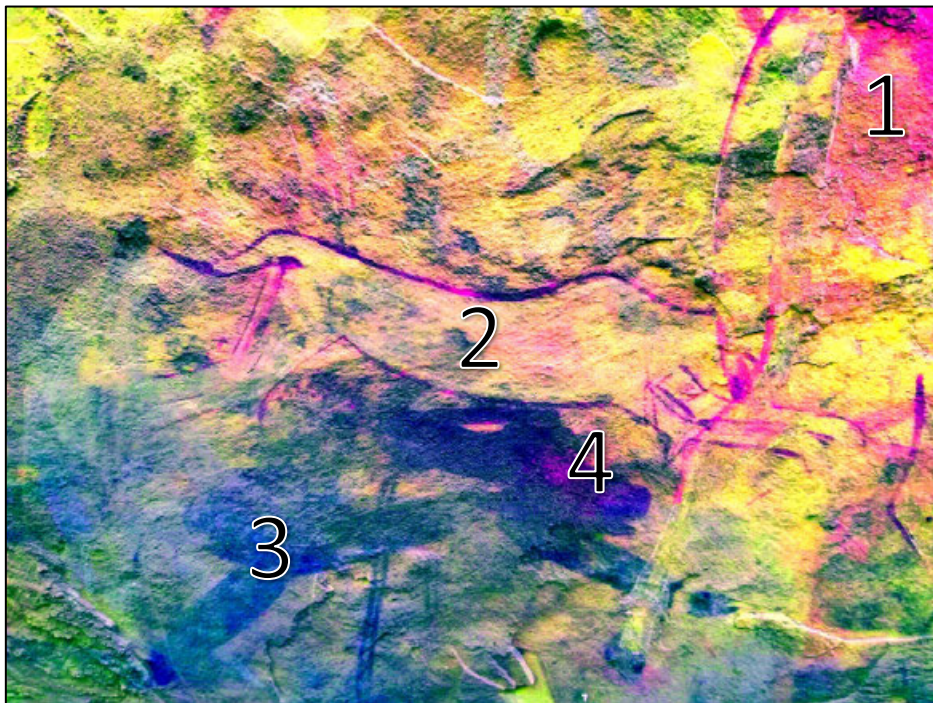


Figure 46: BOP1 Cluster 2 Feline, female eland and ritual specialists (Layers 1-3; Dstretch YBK).

1. Female eland. 2. Feline running – note antelope tail. 3. Sprinting ritual specialist with hooves. 4. Extreme bent forward ritual specialist.

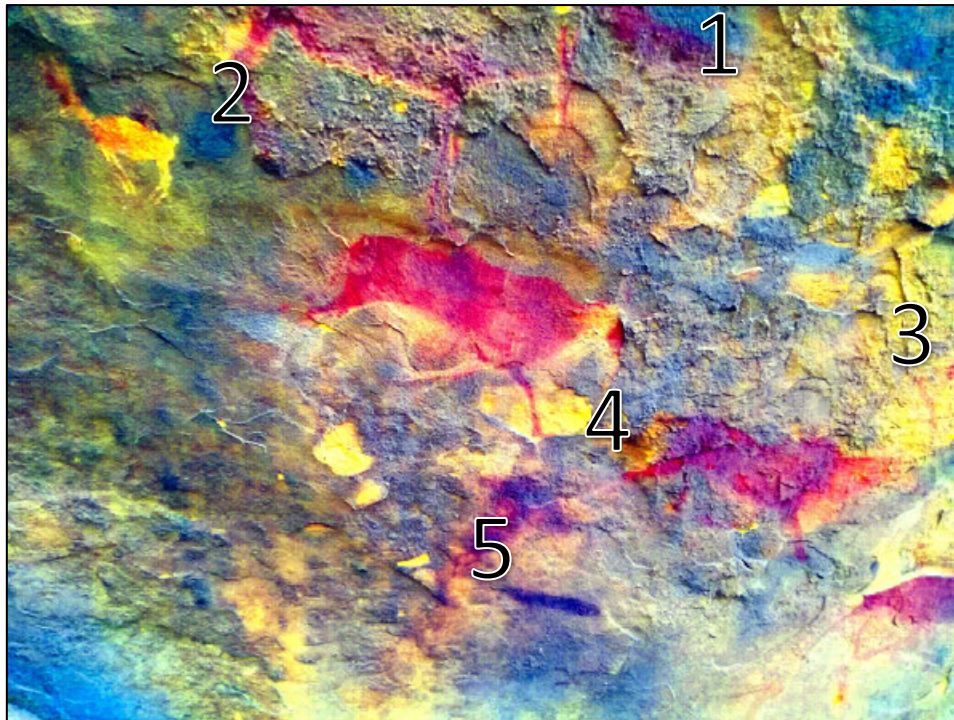


Figure 47: BOP1 Cluster 2 Paintings of female eland, female rhebok and sprinting ritual specialists (Layers 1 & 2; Dstretch LDS).

1. White female rhebok above, not seen. 2. Female Grey Rhebok with calf to left. 3. Two red sprinting ritual specialists. 4. Row of three female eland. 5. Red sprinting ritual specialist.



Figure 48: BOP1 Cluster 2 Rough brush paintings (Unknown layer; Dstretch LDS).

1. Rough brush black indeterminate animals. 2. Red indeterminate human/animal. 3. Row of female eland.

Table 12: Paintings at BOP1 Cluster 2 Layer 1.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 1							
Eland Male	1	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	Walking	Female eland, thin red line, bent forward ritual specialist	White figure
Eland Female	4	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	4 walking	Male eland, female rhebok	Red and white feline
Female Grey Rhebok	2	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	Standing	Female eland, rhebok calf, sprinting ritual specialist	
Rhebok calf	1	Fine	Orange, red and white	Polychrome	Standing	Female Grey Rhebok	
Figures Indeterminate	7	Fine	Red, one with white dots	Monochrome	2 extreme bent forward, 2 bent forward, 3 sprinting; 1 extreme bent forward white dots along arm; 1 bent forward spoor or flecks on legs	Male eland, female eland, female rhebok	Indeterminate white figures

Table 12.1: Paintings at BOP1 Cluster 2 Layer 2.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 2							
Feline	1	Fine	Red & White	Bichrome	Running; hind legs and tail appear antelope-like	Male and female eland; ritual specialists bent forward and sprinting	Indeterminate white figure
Figures male (bows, 1 penis)	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Sprinting; 2 bows, 1 quiver, 1 stick?	Female eland in row, white female rhebok	
Rhebok Rhebok female (1 Mountain Reedbuck, 3 Grey Rhebok)	1 8	Coarse	White	Monochrome (1 has red on buttocks)	1 from behind, 2 looking back over shoulder, 6 standing	Male and female eland, ritual specialists	

Table 12.2: Paintings at BOP1 Cluster 2 Layer 3.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 3							
Figure male Figures indeterminate	2 2	Coarse	White	Monochrome	2 running, 1 bent forward, 2 bows, 1 with rhebok head?	Male and female eland; ritual specialists bent forward and sprinting	

Table 12.3: Paintings at BOP1 Cluster 2 Unknown Layers.

BOP1							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 2 UNKNOWN LAYER							
Animals indeterminate (rough brush)	12 2	Coarse	Black Red	Monochrome	Running	Male eland and ritual specialists	
Indeterminate figure/animal	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Bent forward	Female eland, rough brush indeterminate animals	
Indeterminate figures	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	1 leg remains; 1 soft bones – legs over ears	1 white leg	
Indeterminate figures	1	Coarse	White	Monochrome	1 leg, same pigment as stand-alone head and shoulders	1 red leg	

BOP1 Cluster 3 painted layers

At the eastern side of the shelter are paintings of three ritual specialists depicted facing the paintings in Cluster 2.



Figure 49: BOP1 Cluster 3 Red ritual specialists (novices?) arms bent up, at far east side of shelter.

Table 13: BOP1 Cluster 3 Three figures at entrance to shelter on east

BOP1							
CLUSTER 3 FAR EAST OF SHELTER	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
Indeterminate figures	3	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing looking towards paintings of male eland with thin red line; 2 arms bent up, 1 arms straight out, attenuation		

I now turn to the paintings I recorded at LEL4 Area 2.

AREA 2: LEL4

LEL4 is situated in a sandstone outcrop of a shallow valley with a stream at the bottom in the hills surrounding Jamestown (Fig. 50). It is north north-west facing and the shelter is approximately 12.4 x 4.4 x 3 m. The shelter is surrounded by indigenous bush but has clear views to the stream below although the western side view is partially obstructed by bush. The site can be accessed from the north, east, and west sides. There is some shelter from wind but not from rain – the shelter faces the direction from which rains come. It is easy to move around the central parts of the shelter but the paintings on the west side are at ground level where the ceiling reaches the ground and are awkward to view. There is no space for a dance in the shelter and it would only be possible approximately 15 m away where the hillside flattens but the paintings are not visible. The site is open thus the acoustics are not good. I counted approximately 40 surface lithics, mostly microliths, including scrapers, bladelets, flakes, some with retouch. I found one core and no grindstones. I did not find any pot sherds. The paintings in the centre of the shelter are immediately noticeable and the paintings to the west of the shelter only seen when crawling into this space. It is also easy to miss a painting of two antelope on a dark boss of rock in the ceiling. The shelter is one long episode of paintings but for ease of reference, I recorded it in four clusters. Cluster 1 is far west in the shelter and is approximately 3 x 1 m. Cluster 2 is the middle of the shelter and approximately 5 x 1.5 m. Cluster 3 is east in the shelter and approximately .40 x .40 m. There is an unpainted gap between Cluster 2 and 3 of approximately 1 m. Cluster 4 is above Cluster 2 on the ceiling – approximately .50 m away. I recorded 110 humans in the following categories: indeterminates (59), indeterminates with equipment (13), indeterminates bent forward (3), figures with penises (18), infibulated penises (2), figures with breasts (8), figures with large buttocks (4), and 3 therianthropes.



Figure 50: Location of LEL4 with painting clusters marked.

1. Cluster 1. 2. Cluster 2. 3. Cluster 3. 4. Cluster 4.

LEL4 Cluster 1 painted layers

I recorded three layers of paintings in Cluster 1.



Figure 51: LEL4 Cluster 1 (Layers 1-3; Dstretch AC).

1. Yellow woman ritual specialist with feline to left and yellow and white female rhebok below (Fig. 53, 55). 2. Red figures running. 3. Red and white eland/rhebok? conflation (Fig 54). 4. Female eland with rhebok. 5. Polychrome female eland (Fig. 52). 6. Ritual specialists and therianthrope below female eland (Fig. 52). 7. Row of white rhebok to right (not seen).

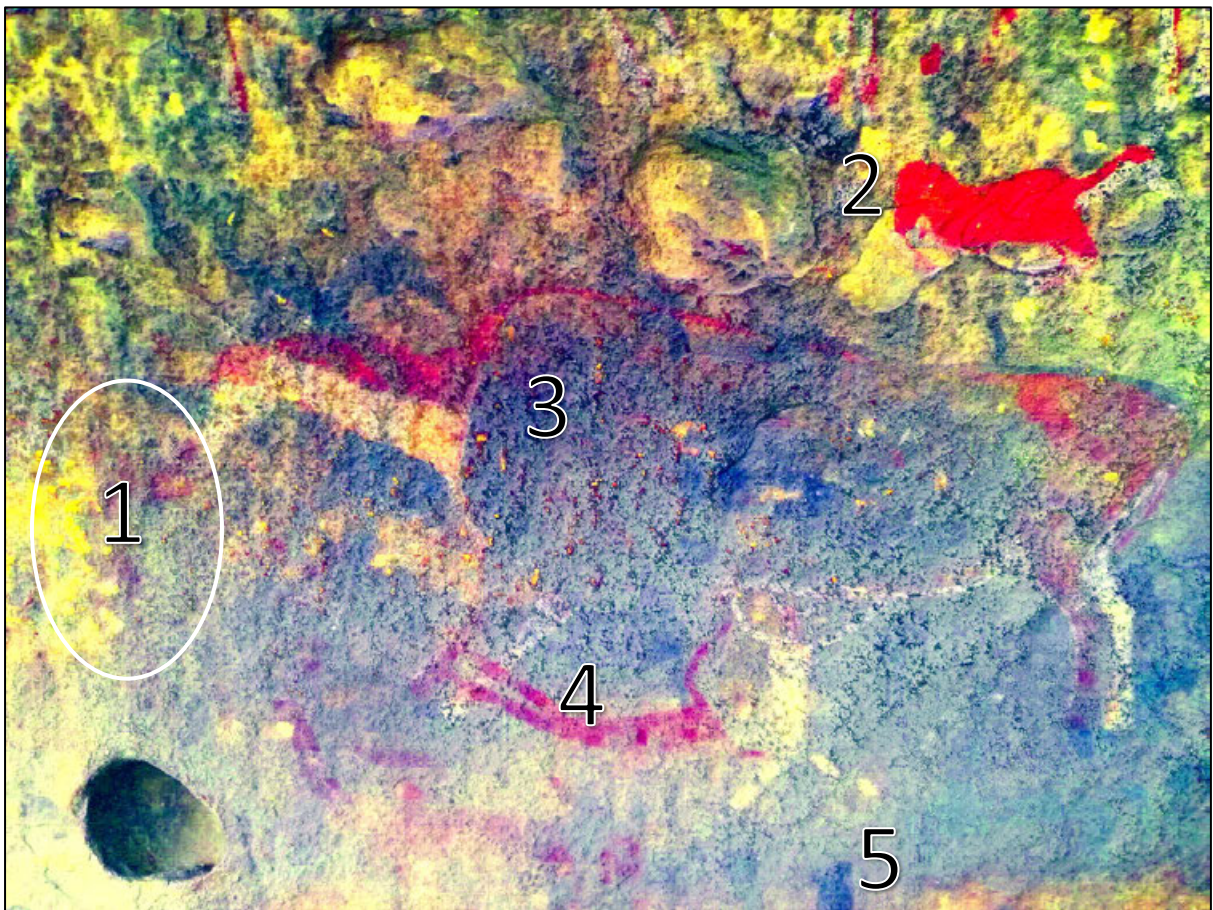


Figure 52: LEL4 Cluster 1 Female eland with ritual specialists (Layers 1-3; Dstretch LDS).

1. Ritual specialist standing in front of female eland, arms bent up to eland muzzle. 2. Eland/ rhebok? conflation. 3. Polychrome female eland with striped neck, raised hairs on back, and differently coloured back legs. 4. Ritual specialists and therianthrope. 5. Indeterminate black figures.

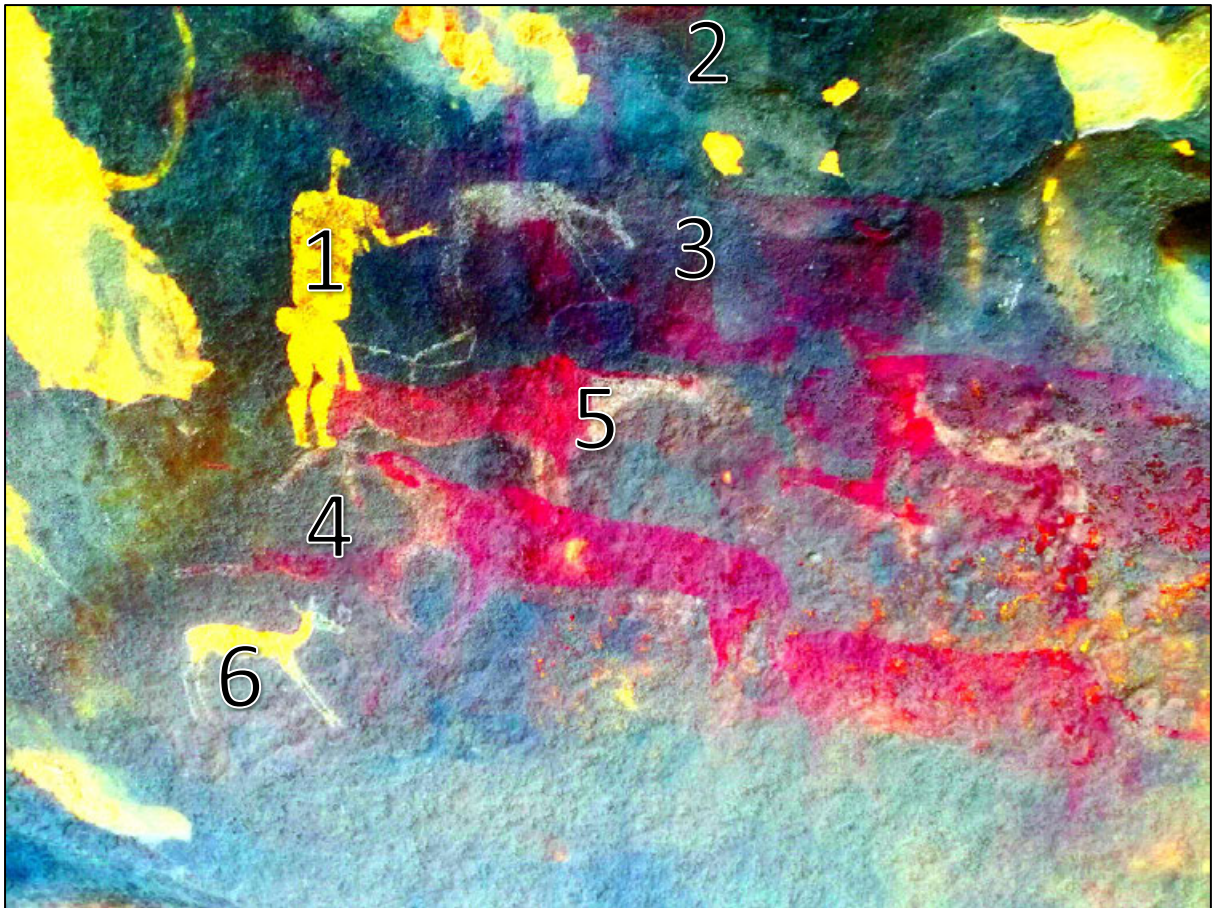


Figure 53: LEL4 Cluster 1 Woman ritual specialist with eland and rhebok (Layers 1-3; Dstretch LDS).

1. Yellow woman ritual specialist with white female rhebok and yellow feline tail to left. 2. Red running figures above, not seen. 3. Female eland painted nearly identically to female eland in Fig. 52 – head to left. 4. Red and white rhebok running. 5. Group of female eland. 6. Yellow and white female rhebok.



Figure 54: LEL4 Cluster 1 Eland/rhebok conflations? Painted above female eland (Layer 1).

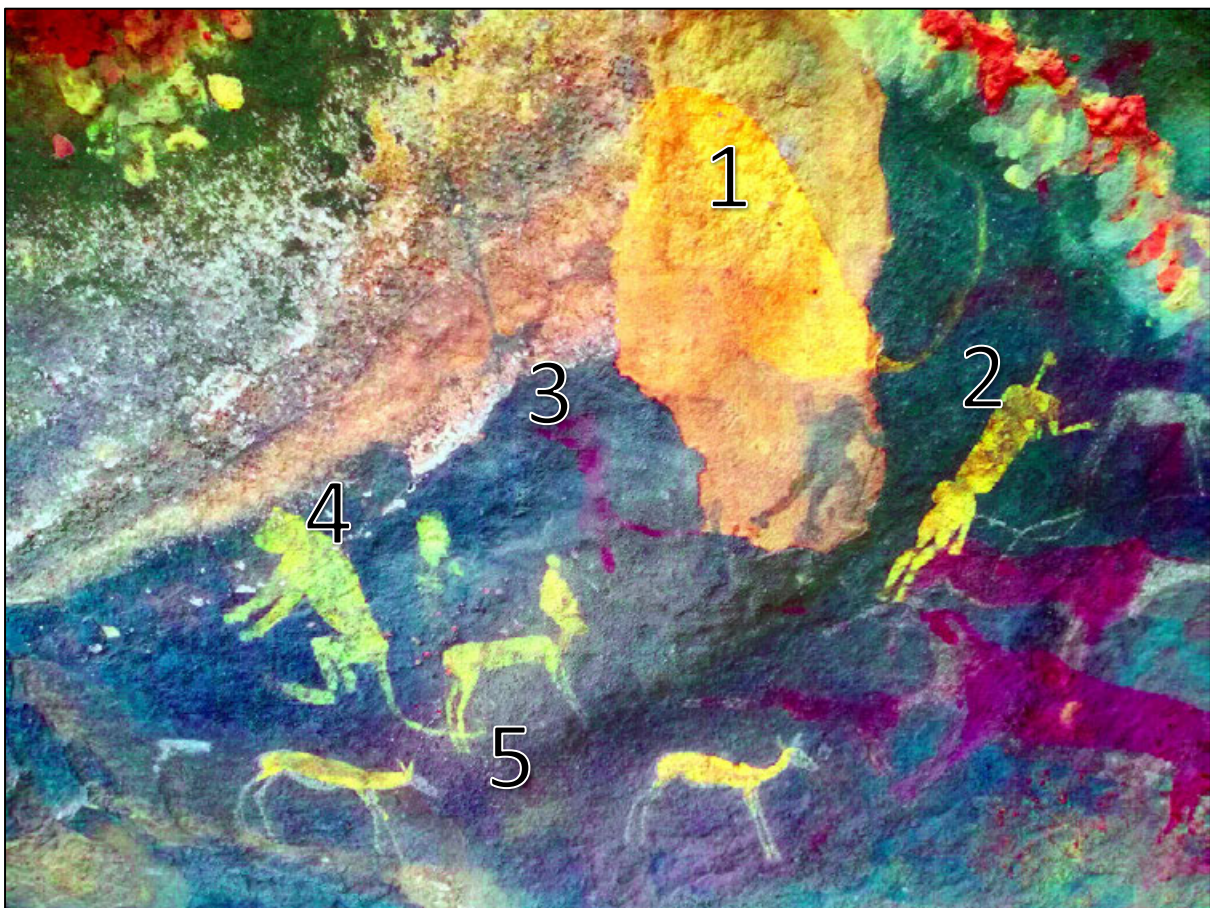


Figure 55: LEL4 Cluster 1 Woman ritual specialist, feline and female rhebok (Layers 1-3; Dstretch LDS).

1. Feline? 2. Yellow woman ritual specialist touching? white female rhebok. 3. Possible red therianthrope or eared-cap, carrying digging stick with bored stone and breasts? 4. Feline appears to be standing. 5. Female rhebok next to feline and not running away.

Table 14: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 1 Layer 1.

LEL4							
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 1	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equip ment	Associa tion	Painted on top?
Eland Female	4	Fine	Red & White	Bichrome	Standing	Female eland, eland indeterminate, therianthrope, ritual specialists	
Female eland	1	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	Standing	Female eland, eland indeterminate, therianthrope, ritual specialists	Yellow ritual specialist, white female rhebok
Eland indeter- minate	2	Fine	Red & White	Bichrome	Standing	Female eland, eland indeterminate, therianthrope, ritual specialists, rhebok	
Rhebok indeterminate	1	Fine	Red & White	Bichrome	Running	Female eland, eland indeterminate, ritual specialists	
Eland/rhebok conflations?	3	Fine	Bright red & White	Bichrome	Standing, 1 looking back over shoulder.	Female eland, eland indeterminate, ritual specialists, white rhebok	
Eland/rhebok calf?	1	Fine	Red & White	Bichrome	Lying down	Female eland, eland indeterminate, ritual specialists, white rhebok	
Figures Indeterminate	8	Fine	Red	Monochrome	2 lying down, 1 touching muzzle of eland, 1 bent forward, 1 standing, 1 walking, 3 running	Female eland, eland indeterminate, ritual specialists, therianthrope rhebok	
Therianthrope (antelope head)	1	Fine	White	Monochrome	Standing, touching belly of female eland	Female eland, eland indeterminate, ritual specialists	
Therianthrope or eared cap, breasts?	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Walking; attenuated leg; holding digging stick with bored stone	Feline, female rhebok	
Indeterminate figure remnant Figure female (breasts)	1 1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Bent forward	Female eland, eland indeterminate, ritual specialists, feline, rhebok	

Table 14.1: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 1 Layer 2.

LEL4							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 2							
Rhebok female	6	Coarse	White	Monochrome	4 walking, 2 standing, 1 head low next to yellow woman ritual specialist	Female eland, eland indeterminate, ritual specialists, feline	
Rhebok female	3	Coarse	Yellow & White	Bichrome	Standing	Feline, therianthrope?, woman ritual specialist	
Feline	2	Coarse	Yellow	Monochrome	1 standing, 1 seated?	Feline, female rhebok, therianthrope?, woman ritual specialist	
Figure female (breasts)	1	Coarse	Yellow	Monochrome	Standing, arm bent up touching rhebok?, no back apron	Feline, female rhebok, female eland	

Table 14.2: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 1 Layer 3.

LEL4							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 1 LAYER 3							
Indeterminate animals possibly rhebok	13	Coarse	Black	Monochrome	Walking		
Indeterminate figures Figure male (penis)	6 1	Coarse	Black	Monochrome	Standing, seated, others indistinct; 1 quiver, seated figure surrounded by 8 sticks, 2 sticks with bored stones, and 3 bags.	Feline, female eland, ritual specialists	

LEL4 Cluster 2 painted layers

I counted three layers in Cluster 2.

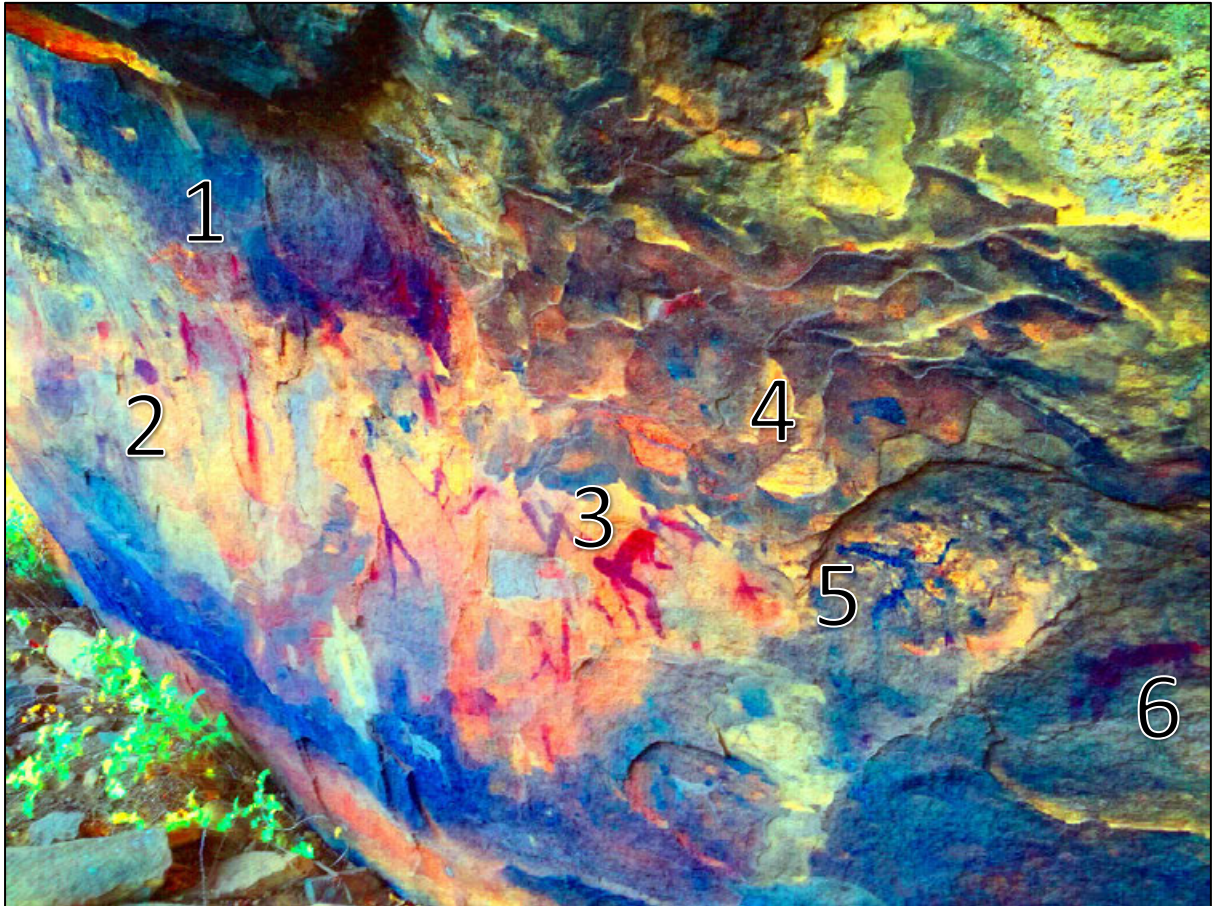


Figure 56: LEL4 Cluster 2 Paintings to right of large eland (Layers 1-3; Dstretch LDS).

1. Large eland? 2. Male and female eland with men ritual specialists depicted touching eland/antelope (Fig. 60). 3. Central woman ritual specialist bent forward (Fig. 59). 4. Black eland, torsos and heads depicted in arc on rock face. 5. Black ritual specialists (Fig. 58). 6. Bent forward woman ritual specialist from Cluster 1 (Fig. 14).

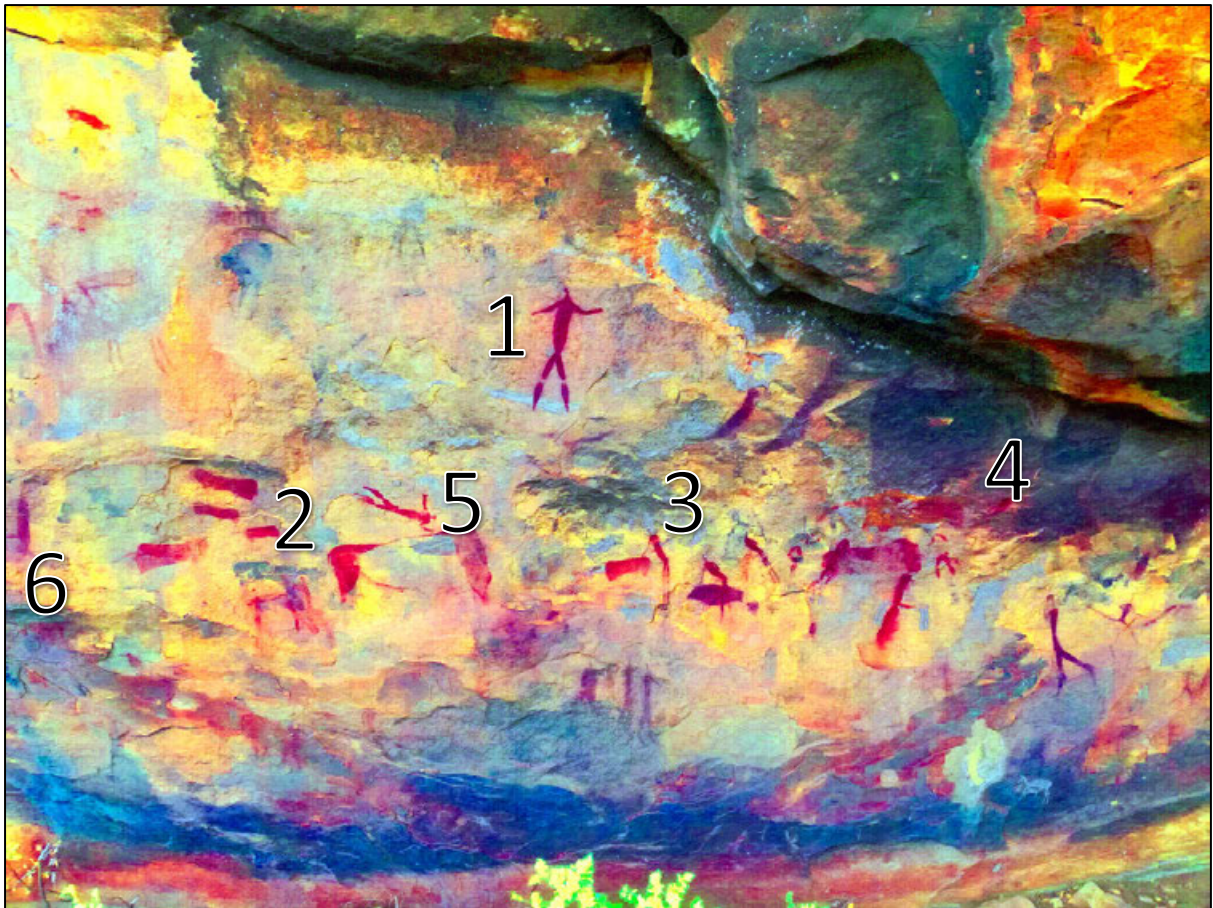


Figure 57: LEL4 Cluster 2 Paintings to left and below painting of large eland (Layers 1-3; Dstretch LDS).

1. Red ritual specialist arms open has penis and buttocks added in black with eland in same black pigment to right (Fig. 76). 2. Male and female eland (Fig. 60, 61). 3. Men ritual specialists bent forward touching eland/antelope (Fig. 60, 73). 4. Large eland? 5. Man ritual specialist touching male eland with feline painted on top of eland (Fig. 61), women ritual specialists below left (Fig. 62). 6. Feline (Fig. 83f).

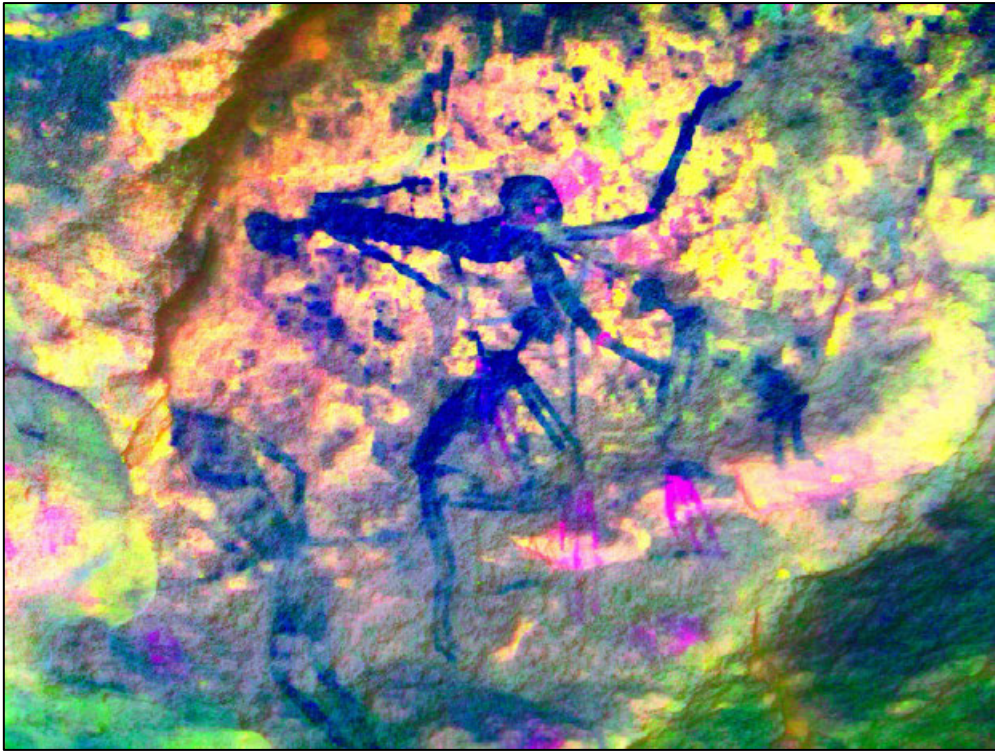


Figure 58: LEL4 Cluster 2 Men ritual specialists holding sticks, one bow, two with very long penises. Note the different penises (Layer 2 & 3; Dstretch YBK).

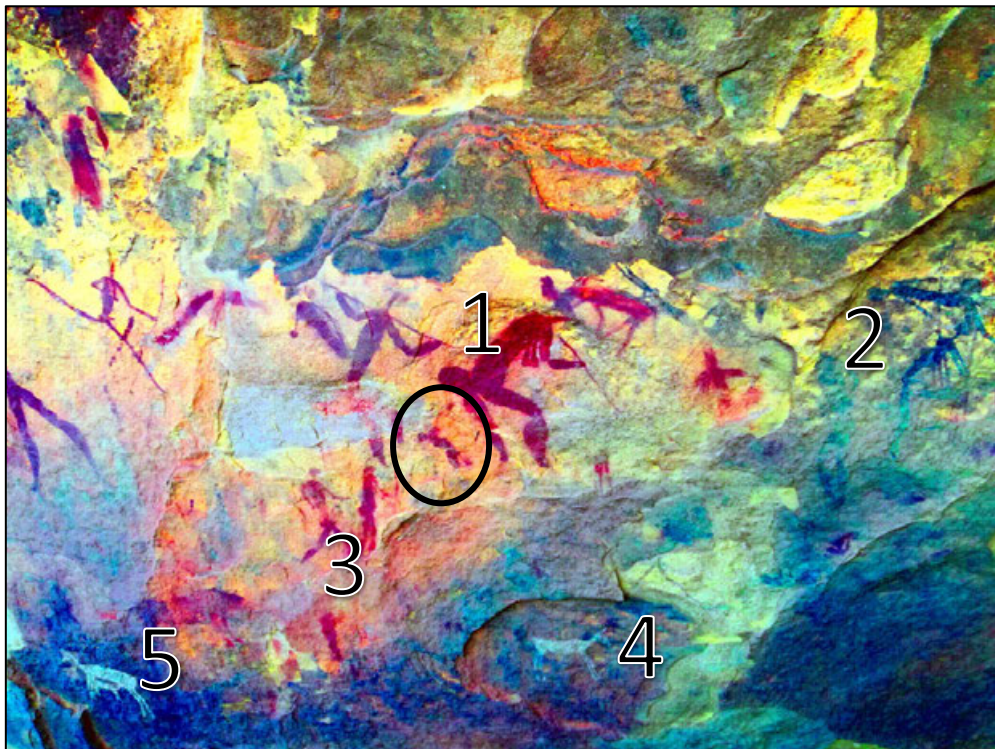


Figure 59: LEL4 Cluster 2 Woman ritual specialist centre, with other men and women ritual specialists (Layers 1-3; Dstretch LDS).

1. 'Central' woman ritual specialist with smaller woman ritual specialist below left (Fig. 81).
2. Men ritual specialists painted in black (Fig. 58).
3. Woman ritual specialist holding stick with man ritual specialist behind her.
4. White female rhebok.
5. White female rhebok feeding calf (Fig. 80).

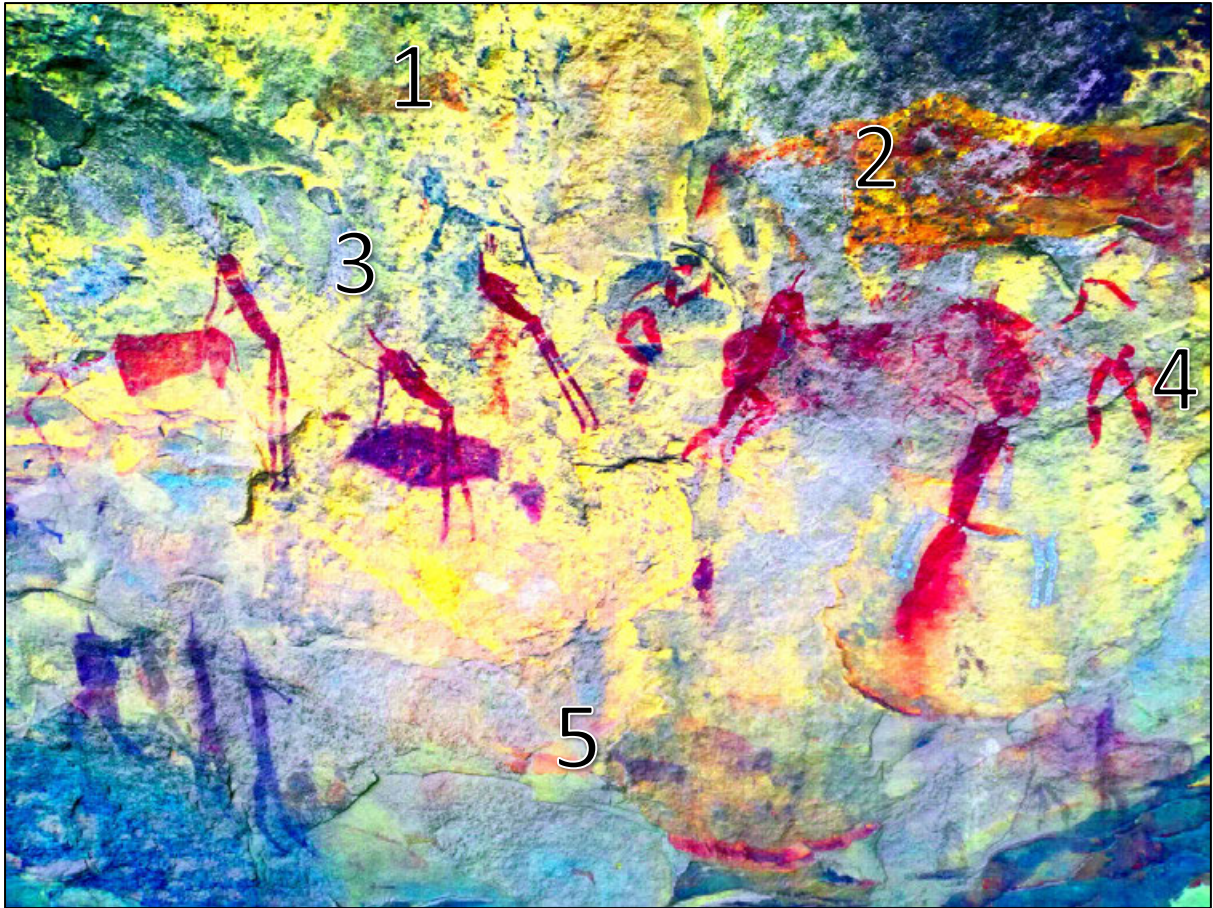


Figure 60: LEL4 Cluster 2 Paintings to left of central woman ritual specialist (Layers 1-3; Dstretch LDS).

1. Feline (Fig. 83e). 2. Male eland. 3. Men ritual specialists touching female eland/antelope. 4. 'Central' woman ritual specialist to right, not seen. 5. Possible rain animal – note painted rock lip.

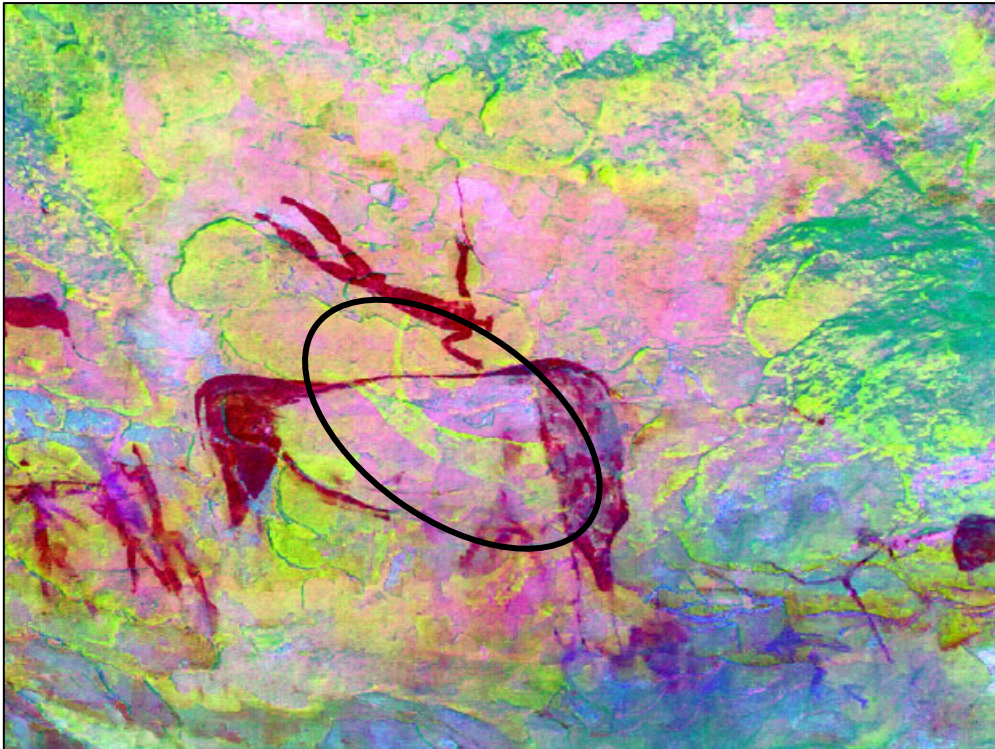


Figure 61: LEL4 Cluster 2 Paintings to left of men ritual specialists touching eland. Note ritual specialist with penis, touching large male eland and holding stick; feline painted on top of male eland (black circle); three women ritual specialists with a single male to left (Layers 2 & 3; Dstretch LDS).

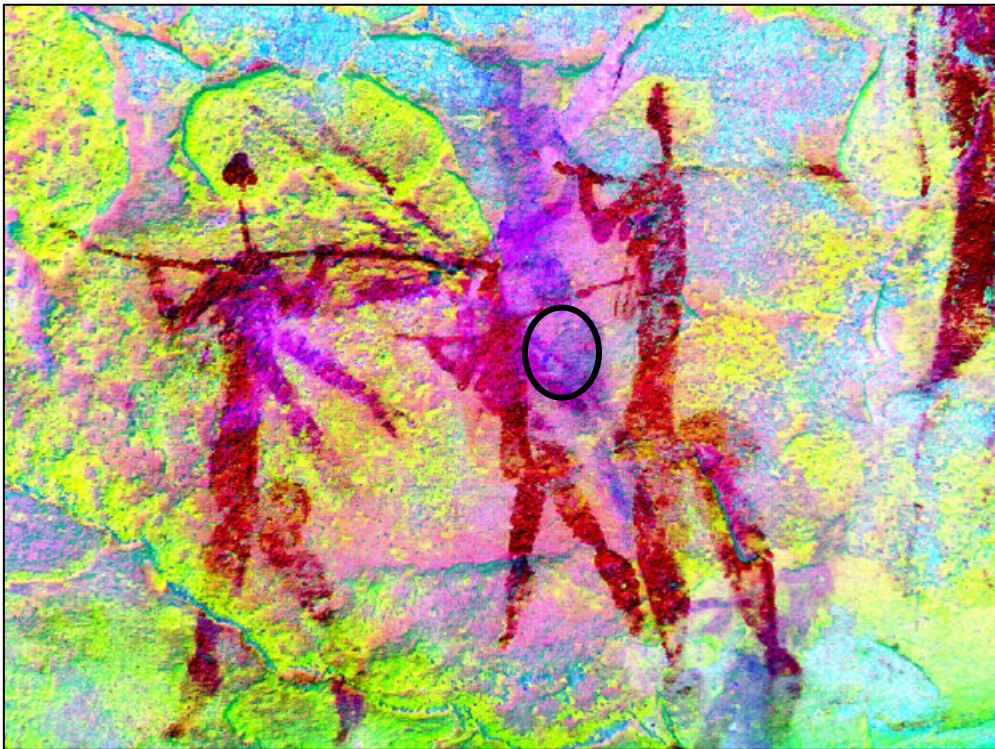


Figure 62: LEL4 Cluster 2 Women ritual specialists painted with man ritual specialist (penis in black circle) to left of male eland (Layer 2; Dstretch CRGB).



Figure 63: LEL4 Cluster 2 Women ritual specialists with male and female eland and feline (Layers 2 & 3; Dstretch LDS).

1. Male and female eland. 2. Black figure from top layer. 3. Feline (Fig. 83f). 4. Female ritual specialists (Fig. 62).

Table 15: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 2 Layer 1.

LEL4							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 1							
Indeterminate antelope possibly eland	2	Fine	Dark red	Shaded polychrome?	Standing; 1 80x35cm	Legs going into crack; eland may be going into crack	Male eland and ritual specialists, 2 sprinting
Indeterminate figures Only legs seen	1	Fine	Dark red	Shaded polychrome?	Standing; 1 80x35cm	Legs going into crack; eland may be going into crack	
Rhebok	2	Fine	Red/White/Black	Shaded polychrome	1 standing, indistinct	Red figures	Red figures

Table 15.1: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 2 Layer 2.

LEL4							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 2							
Figures male (penis)	5	Fine	Black	Monochrome	3 bent forward, 2 side-on; 2 sticks, 1 bow, 1 infibulation?.	Men ritual specialists, very large eland to left	
Eland indeterminate	1	Fine	Black	Monochrome	Standing	Painted with heads and torsos in black and white in arc	
Figure indeterminate	4	Fine	Black	Monochrome	Standing, bent forward, indistinct	Painted on either side of arc	
Figure female (breasts)	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Bent forward, holding stick	Men and women ritual specialists, eland	White figure?
Figure female (large buttocks)	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	1 bent forward holding dancing sticks, 1 holding stick	Men and women ritual specialists, eland	
Figure indeterminate Therianthrope?	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Head and shoulders	Men and women ritual specialists, eland	
	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Bent forward		
Figures male (stick and penis)	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	1 attenuated neck bent forward painted next to stand alone quiver, 1 holding stick, 1 infibulation?	Men and women ritual specialists, eland, rhebok	Horns or eared cap in watery black pigment; white antelope on top
Indeterminate antelope possibly rhebok	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing, 1 head low	Female & male eland, specialists	
Indeterminate figures	6	Fine	Red	Monochrome	1 open legged; indistinct	Rhebok	
Indeterminate animal	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing	Red ritual specialists, rhebok, white rhebok	White rhebok
Indeterminate figures Figure male (penis)	9	Fine	Red	Monochrome	2 standing, 1 walking, four sprinting; 1 bow, 2 karosses; 2 attenuated – very thin	Red ritual specialists, rhebok, eland	
Figure male (penis) Figure female (breasts)	1 1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Sprinting, infibulation; Stick with bored stone	Male eland, men and women ritual specialists	
Eland male	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing	Men ritual specialists, male eland, eland calf	Red male eland
Eland male	1	Fine	Orange and white	Shaded bichrome	Standing	Men ritual specialists, male eland, eland calf	Red male eland

Table 15.1 continued: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 2 Layer 2.

LEL4							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 2							
Female eland	1	Fine	Red & white	Bichrome	Standing head low	Man ritual specialist touching her, indeterminate antelope	
Antelope indeterminate	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing	Man ritual specialist touching her, female eland	
Feline	1	Fine	Orange and white	Shaded bichrome	Standing? Very long tail, blood from mouth	Above female eland and men ritual specialists	
Antelope indeterminate	4	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing? Indistinct	Eland, men ritual specialists	
Antelope indeterminate possibly rhebok	3	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing? Indistinct	Eland, men ritual specialists, painted above highlighted rock ridge	
Antelope indeterminate, possible eland	1	Fine	Orange and red	Bichrome	Only head and neck remain	Ritual specialists and rain animal?	
Rain animal?	1	Watery	Red	Monochrome	Hippo-like head with raised hairs on back	Ritual specialists and antelope head and neck	
Indeterminate figures	5	Fine	Red	Monochrome	1 standing, 2 knee up, 2 walking, 3 arms bent up	Eland and men ritual specialists	
Indeterminate figure	1	Fine	Red & black	Bichrome	Dancing, holding dancing sticks in each hand	Eland and men ritual specialists	
Figure male (penis)	3	Fine	Red	Monochrome	3 bent forward, 2 touching eland/antelope, 2 sticks, 3 arrows painted above right of each figure	Eland/antelope and men ritual specialists	
Figure male (penis)	4				Standing, 3 arms bent up, 1 straight out, attenuated necks	Below men ritual specialists touching female eland and indeterminate antelope	
Figure indeterminate	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome			
Figure indeterminate	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing arms straight open, open legged	Left of large eland and 'legs'	Watery black penis and buttocks added to this figure. Watery Black eland added to right
Figure male (penis)	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Depicted side on touching male eland with stick	Male eland and feline	
Eland male	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing	Man ritual specialist touching it	Feline

Table 15.1 continued: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 2 Layer 2.

LEL4							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 2							
Figure male (penis) Figure indeterminate	1 2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Sprinting with bow & quiver- 3 arrows above. Walking, 1 hunting bag, 1 quiver	Male and female eland, feline, men ritual specialists	
Figure female (breasts)	3	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Walking, 3 sticks one with bored stone, 1 <i>kaross</i>	Male eland right, male and female eland left, male ritual specialist, female ritual specialists below	
Figure male (penis)	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing, 2 sticks	With women ritual specialists below male eland	
Figure female (1 breasts, 2 large buttocks)	3	Fine	Red	Monochrome	1 with breasts bent forward 1 arm straight out, large buttocks 1 standing, 1 walking, 2 sticks – one with flywhisk attached, arms bent up and straight out	Below women ritual specialists with man ritual specialist	
Eland male	2	Fine	Red/white/black	Polychrome	Standing, 2 head low	Above left of women ritual specialists, left of male ritual specialist with male eland, feline below	
Eland female	2	Fine	Red/white	Bichrome	Standing heads indistinct	Above left of women ritual specialists, left of male ritual specialist with male eland, feline below	
Feline	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Walking, very long tail, awkward back legs	Male and female eland above, women ritual specialists to above right	
Figure indeterminate	1	Fine	Red/white?	Bichrome?	Walking, arms out, attenuated neck, spoor or flecks on body	Painted on top of two antelope heads and necks in same pigment, painted above feline	
Antelope indeterminate	2	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Head and necks	Painted below indeterminate figure with spoor or flecks on body	

Table 15.1 continued: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 2 Layer 2.

LEL4							
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 2	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
Figure indeterminate	4	Fine	Red	Monochrome	1 attenuated neck and <i>kaross</i> , 1 extreme bent forward, 2 attenuated legs	Indeterminate figures, rain animal?	
Antelope indeterminate possibly rain animal	1	Fine	Red	Monochrome	Standing	Indeterminate figures	

Table 15.2: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 2 Layer 3.

LEL4							
CLUSTER 2 LAYER 3	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
Rhebok female	2	Coarse	White	Monochrome	Standing upright	Men and women ritual specialists	
Rhebok female feeding calf	1	Coarse	White	Monochrome	Standing upright	Men and women ritual specialists	
Indeterminate antelope	1	Coarse	White	Monochrome	Lying down?	Men and women ritual specialists	
Rhebok calf?	1				Standing	White rhebok, ritual specialists, indeterminate animal	Same yellow pigment as Cluster 1
Indeterminate antelope	1	Coarse	Yellow	Monochrome	Indistinct		
Figures indeterminate	13	Watery	Black	Monochrome	Indistinct, 1 bent forward, 1 arms out wide attenuated, open legged; 2 bags, 2 quivers, 3 sticks, 2 bows, arrows?	Men and women ritual specialists, male and female eland, white rhebok	
Indeterminate animal	1	Watery	Black	Monochrome	Indistinct	Men and women ritual specialists, male eland	
Eland?	1	Watery	Black	Monochrome	Standing	Painted next to red ritual specialist	
Feline?	1	Watery	Black	Monochrome	Standing?	Ritual specialists, eland below	
Indeterminate figures	11	Watery	White	Monochrome	Standing? Indistinct	Ritual specialists, male eland	
Indeterminate animals	2	Watery	White	Monochrome	Standing? Indistinct	Men ritual specialists, male and female eland	

LEL4 Cluster 3 painted layers

I counted one layer in Cluster 3 of paintings of eland.



Figure 64: LEL4 Cluster 3 paintings of male and female eland (Dstretch YRD).

Table 16: Paintings at LEL4 Cluster 3.

LEL4							
	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
CLUSTER 3 LAYER 1							
Eland (possibly 2 males, 3 females)	5	Fine	Red & white	Bichrome	Standing?	Male and female eland	

LEL4 Cluster 4 painted layers

Cluster 4 consists of paintings of a male and female impala. Impala have long horns that curve outwards and backwards compared to Reedbuck which are far shorter and have a slight to moderate forward hook. Only males carry horns (Estes 1991: 158; 94).

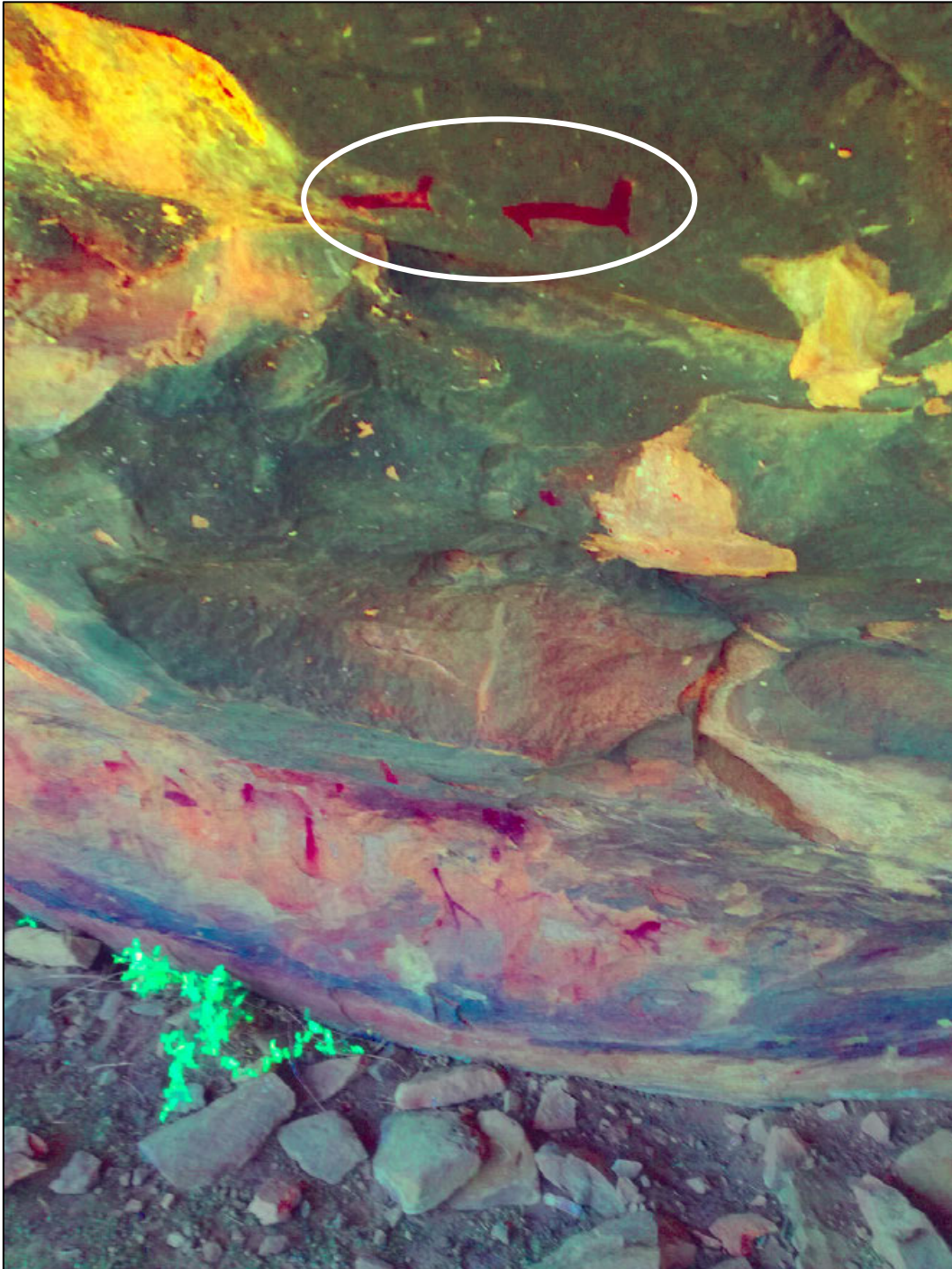


Figure 65: LEL4 Position of Cluster 4 (Dstretch LDS).



Figure 66: LEL4 Cluster 4 Female impala left without horns, male impala right with horns (Dstretch LAB).

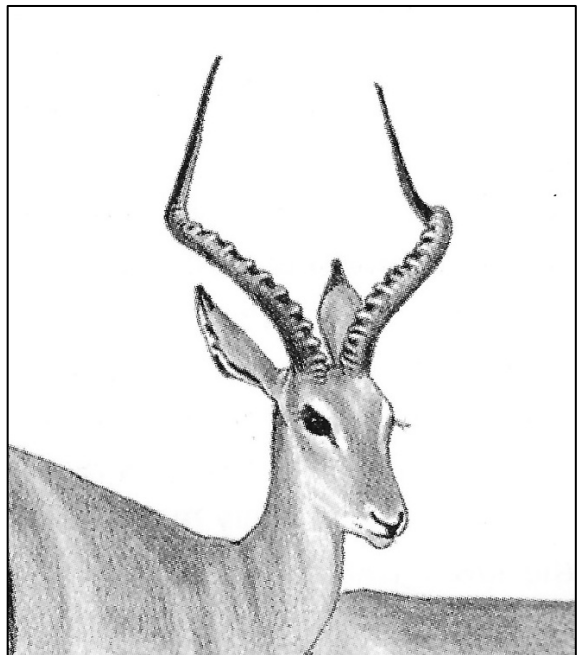
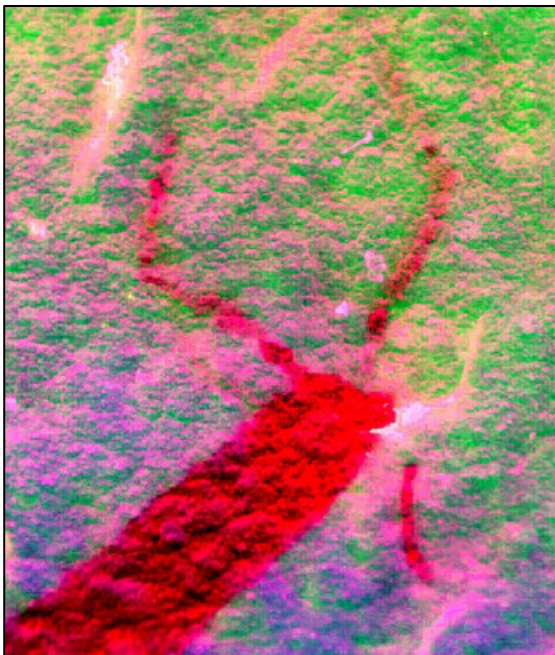


Figure 67: LEL4 Cluster 4 Male impala close-up of head (Dstretch CRGB). Male impala (right) after Apps 2000: 204.

Table 17: Paintings in LEL4 Cluster 4.

LEL4							
CLUSTER 4 LAYER 1	Number	Pigment	Colour	Chrome?	Posture & equipment	Association	Painted on top?
Impala male and female	2	Fine	Red & white	Bichrome	Standing	Above central woman ritual specialist	

BOP1 and LEL4: Patterning in paintings of wo/men ritual specialists and fe/male animals

BOP1 and LEL4 have significant patterns regarding paintings of men and women ritual specialists and their associations with male and female animals. The most compelling is the near lack of paintings of women at BOP1, which has what could be a single painting of a woman ritual specialist (Fig. 20b, 69); LEL4 has 12. At both sites, a great deal of attention to detail has been taken by the artists to express the varied and individual experiences of searching for, acquiring, regulating, and using supernatural potency (Fig. 68). Richard Katz (1982: 92-107) describes the process and experience of ritual specialists in the Kalahari. The first step is the searching for and acquisition of supernatural potency, especially for novices (Katz 1982: 94, 97). Then the supernatural potency is regulated to activate trance or an altered state of consciousness (Katz 1982: 92). Following this, the supernatural potency is regulated and used, to allow ritual specialists to undertake special rituals or tasks while in trance or an altered state of consciousness (Katz 1982: 92-95). This process is not necessarily progressive nor discrete – sometimes ritual specialists can immediately access an altered state of consciousness, and at others, there is an extended build-up (Katz 1982: 97). Importantly, each experience of acquiring and regulating supernatural potency is individual.

Kia is not a unitary, unidimensional, linear experience. Kia is an altered state of consciousness, which at different times in different or the same persons may function at different levels, may capture different degrees of meaning, and may express itself in different forms of behaviour (Katz 1982: 95; Kia is when ritual specialists are redolent with supernatural potency and enter an altered stated of consciousness or trance; also L. V. 22: 5760-5775).

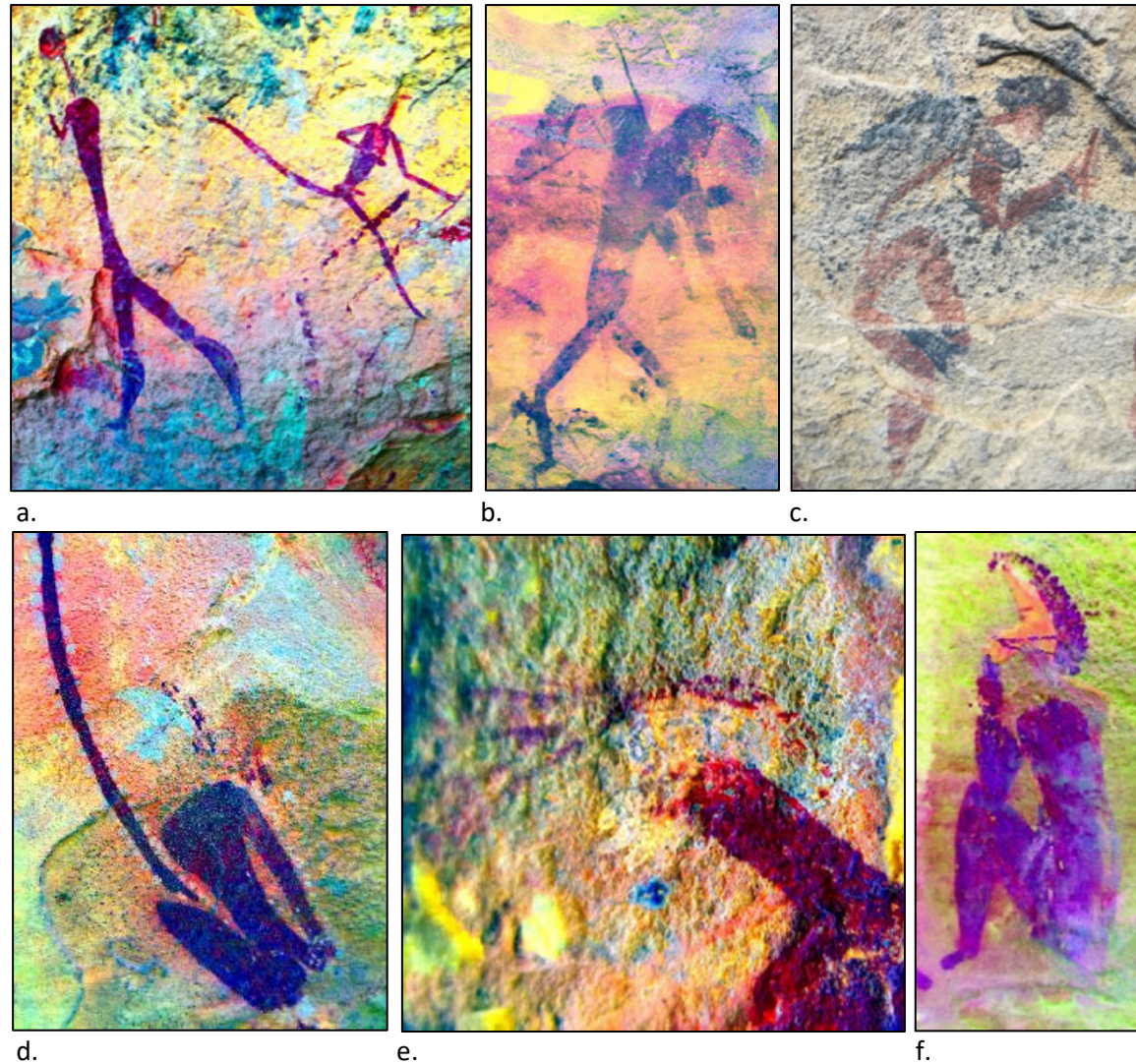


Figure 68: Examples of paintings that depict various stages and sensations of acquiring, regulating, and using supernatural potency (from top left to bottom right): a: very tall hand up to nose, and sprinting (Dstretch LDS), b: standing open legged (Dstretch YBK), c: dancing, d: extreme bent forward, e: lines from head, f: seated hands up to nose bleeding from nose (all Dstretch LDS).

Of additional importance is that dancing is not the only way in which ritual specialists can enter an altered state of consciousness. They can also enter altered states through dreaming, and I suggest, lucid and controlled dreaming (L. II. 6: 625-633; L. II. 22: 1949-1964; L. V. 19: 5506-5536; L. V. 19: 5506rev.-5512rev.; L. VIII. 23: 8005-8010; Katz 1982: 218; Biesele 1993: 67-70), as well as focused attention (meditation) or special curing (L. II. 6: 625-633; L. V. 3: 4132-4161, 4: 4162-4199, 4200-4230; L. V. 19: 5506-5536; L. V. 19: 5506rev.-5512rev.; L. VIII. 20: 7753-7752rev., 7753rev.; L. VIII. 20: 7757-7762, 7768-7774; Shostak 1981: 298-301; Marshall 1999: 58-60 cited by Lewis-Williams 2001: 433). This implies that we may find other postures, not related to the trance dance, such as standing or sitting, as could be indicated in the seated figure with nasal blood above (Fig. 68f), that indicate these other processes for accessing and regulating supernatural potency (see Low 2014: 358 for connection between standing and potency). These other types of accessing altered states may also be portrayed in standing open legged figures, seated open legged figures, and bent forward figures. Not only are the physical sensations of accessing and using supernatural potency portrayed, but also the actual rituals undertaken may be depicted. At BOP1, Cluster 1 depicts groups of ritual specialists in various postures suggesting the use of supernatural potency (Fig. 69). To the left of these ritual specialists are paintings depicting ritual specialists 'working' with an eland, and in Cluster 2, a ritual specialist in an extreme bent forward posture on a thin red line that connects to a male eland (Figs. 70 & 71). At LEL4, a similar pattern is evidenced (Fig. 72). Here, the ritual specialists in various altered state postures, are also painted next to those working with eland, indeterminate antelope, and rhebok (Figs. 72, 73).



Figure 69: BOP1 Group of ritual specialists working with supernatural potency. Figure lying down may be a woman ritual specialist.

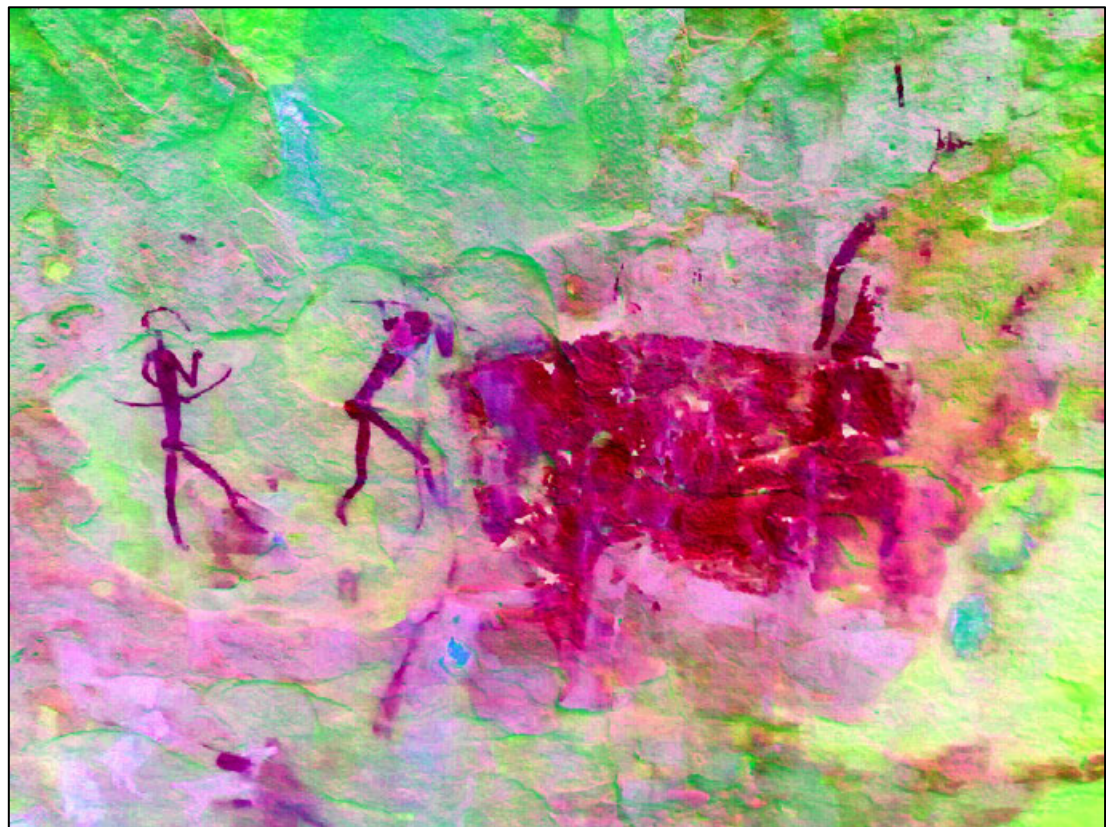


Figure 70: BOP1 Men ritual specialists with male eland to left of group of men and woman ritual specialist/s depicted in Figure 69. Note highlighted penile sheath on eland (Dstretch LDS).



Figure 71: BOP1 Ritual specialist on thin red line leading to a male eland to left of ritual specialists with eland (Fig. 70); note white dots along ritual specialist's arm.



Figure 72: LEL4 Group of men and women ritual specialists working with supernatural potency (Dstretch LDS).



Figure 73: LEL4 Men ritual specialists touching female eland (left) indeterminate antelope (right); painted to left of group in Figure 72.

Significantly, women ritual specialists are not depicted touching antelope, except at LEL4 where the woman ritual specialist may be touching a female rhebok (Fig. 74). Women are painted next to, or in close association with antelope, such as the three women ritual specialists painted at LEL4 (Fig. 62). This difference in depicted actions appears to indicate that women ritual specialists were treated differently by artists, which I explore in the next chapter. Of further interest is the extreme bent forward figures I recorded are portrayed without equipment or sexually distinct features (Fig. 75).

This may signify a loss of identity and a focus on the actions of the ritual specialist – an internalising of actioning. The central focus of these ritual specialists is the specific work they are undertaking in trance, which suggests there may be an ungendered category. The painted focus on the use of supernatural potency and the associated rituals where supernatural potency is used implies the paintings are centred on depicting rituals, and the people, at times specific people, associated with these rituals. Furthermore, these specific palimpsests of paintings may also indicate that specific paintings were ‘used’ in different ways (Chapter 5).



Figure 74: LEL4 Painting of yellow woman ritual specialist (right) and feline (left) in same yellow pigment. Woman ritual specialist appears to touch the female white rhebok to her right. Painting may also depict this ritual specialist has the ability to transform into a feline at left. Note reaction of rhebok which do not run away (Dstretch LDS).



Figure 75: BOP1 Extreme bent forward figure without sexually distinct features or equipment (Dstretch YBK).

Additionally, the paintings in a watery black pigment that occur in the uppermost layer of LEL4 are very similar in content and subject matter to those underlying (Table 15-15.2), but more significantly, the addition of items to the underlying red paintings appears to indicate these ritual specialists added specific parts of their visioning/experiences to those which were painted earlier – the addition of horns or eared cap to a ritual specialist, the addition of an eland? next to a ritual specialist with the addition of buttocks and a penis (Fig. 76). These ritual specialists may have used the paintings in a similar way to those previously which implies some time-depth to these beliefs.



Figure 76: LEL4 Painting of a red ritual specialist which has buttocks and penis added in black pigment, with the addition of an eland? in same black pigment (Dstretch LDS).

I now turn to the significance of paintings of sexed animals. Three species are repeatedly painted in association with ritual specialists – eland, rhebok, and feline. I suggest reasons for their dominance and the focus their sex gives to understanding the specific contexts.

Eland

I counted 6 male eland, 11 female eland and 5 indeterminate eland at BOP1, and 8 male eland, 11 female eland and 4 indeterminate eland at LEL4. Male and female eland are painted together in groups, or with ritual specialists who are depicted touching these animals. Patricia Vinnicombe (1976) and especially David Lewis-Williams (1981a, 1983, 1997) have comprehensively described these paintings and the ethnography from southern and northern San which show that eland are associated with every ritual of importance – girls' puberty rites, boys' first kill rites, marriage rites, and the trance dance. Predominantly, eland are associated with */Kaggen* and *Cagn*, fat and supernatural potency, rain, and respect and avoidance practices (Hewitt 1986: 35; Lewis-Williams 1997, 2010, 2015, 2018).

Meat and fat were highly valued by the San and are essential for human health and the ability to procreate successfully (Wainwright 1992; Ben-Dor *et al* 2011; Nilsson *et al* 2014; Georgieff *et al* 2015; Reshef & Barkai 2015: 30). Similarly, in animals, fat is linked to better health and successful procreation (Van Soest 1994: 55; Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 641; Nilsson *et al* 2014). Eland are delicious to eat, very similar to beef with a mild game taste making it understandable that they are a favoured animal. One of the most important elements of this flavour is fat (Reshef & Barkai 2015: 30). Animal fat is also nearly completely digested as opposed to animal proteins, making animal fat an efficient energy source (Ben-Dor *et al* 2011: 5).

Thus, fat plays an important role in physical well-being, and it is this same fat, with its association with supernatural potency, that ritual specialists used to enter altered states of consciousness to ensure the spiritual and physical well-being of people (L. V. 18: 5358; L. V. 18: 5360; Lewis-Williams 1992: 15; 1994: 278); Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; McGranaghan & Challis 2016). Critical to this process is rain. Without rain there is no grass to fatten animals. Especially important is the new rain, the rains that bring the antelope close, bring the antelope together in grazing thereby enabling fatness, mating, and the hunting of these animals (L. II. 24: 2214-2215; L. II. 24: 2252; L. II. 25: 2264-2319; L. VIII. 3: 6259-6266, 6269-6271).

People should not do anything to risk any element in this cycle. There were essential procedures to follow to respect the rain and antelope to ensure that all things behaved nicely – the rain, animals, and people. Central to controlling these elements were ritual specialists – it was they who reminded the people about following customary procedures to provide for good rains which ensured the sharing of meat and fat (L. V. 3: 4075-4085; L. V. 20: 5537-5556). Thus, aside from the references to the supernatural potency of eland, I suggest another important association of paintings of male and female eland is the reminder to ordinary people to follow respect practices.

There are also specific postures depicted in painted eland which bring further focus. For example, the female eland depicted from behind in BOP1 (Fig. 77). I identified this eland as female because there are no testicles nor penis depicted and this stance for female eland is painted elsewhere, here and in the Drakensberg range (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 47; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 121). David Lewis-Williams (1981a: 47) argues that paintings of eland from behind reference female eland pre-mating behaviour. In the mating season, a female eland will lash her tail from side to side or she will move away. When she is ready to be mounted, she will raise her tail up and wave it in the air (1981a: 47). He likens the depiction of this behaviour to fat, sex, girls' puberty rites, beliefs about new rain, and balance and renewal (1981a: 52). While these elements are part of the associations of these paintings, I argue they are dominantly focused on the female eland behaving nicely by standing and allowing the male to mount her, as well as her sexual potency. She is fat and accepting the advances of the male eland. The rain has fallen, the grass has grown enough to make the eland fat to enable mating. This emphasises the importance of following respect practices to ensure the rain falls, the eland get fat and can mate. It is also a reminder to young girls to follow customary procedures so that their sexual potency is controlled to the benefit of everyone.

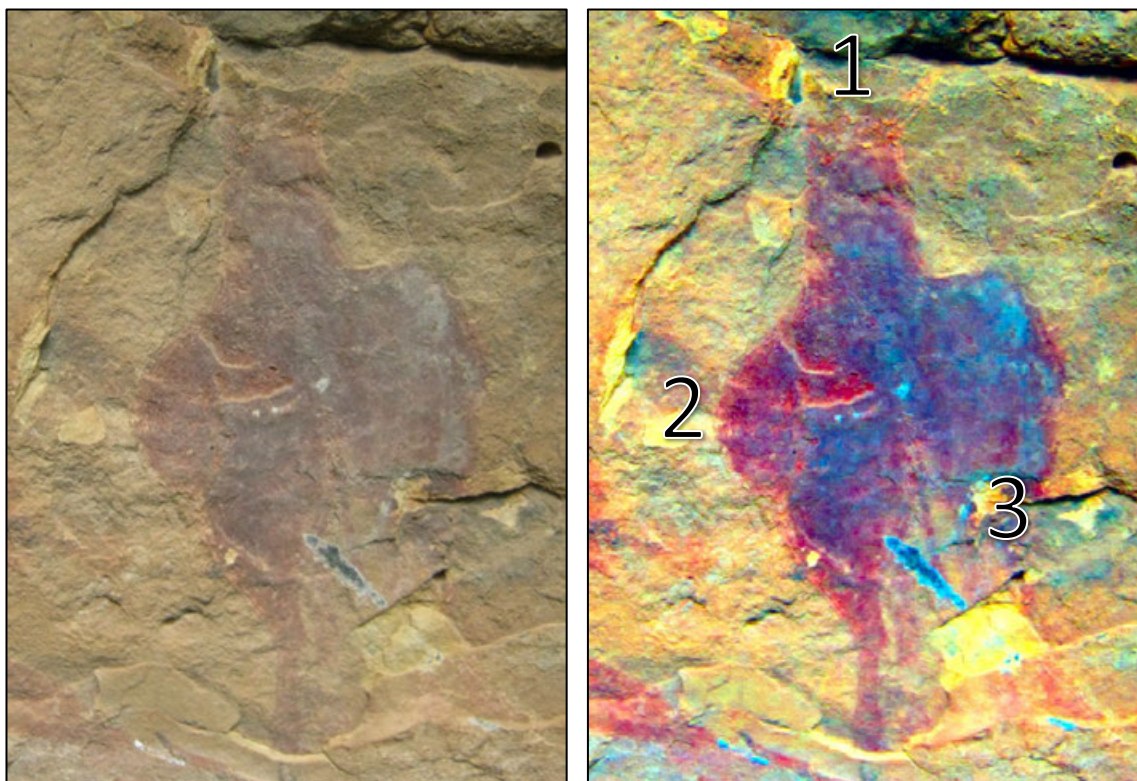


Figure 77: BOP1 Female eland from behind (right Dstretch LDS).

1. Head of eland with ears pointing out. 2. Belly of eland. 3. Rump, tail and back legs of eland.

On either side of this female eland is a man ritual specialist wearing an eared cap sprinting behind a very fat female eland also sprinting (Fig. 78). Eared caps are believed to portray game ritual specialists (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 100; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; Challis 2003). The man ritual specialist has line decorations on his legs as well as what may be a penis attachment. He carries a quiver with arrows.

I argue paintings of animals and ritual specialists sprinting refers to powerful supernatural potency that is difficult to control, and the feelings associated with this process (Challis 2019). It portrays ritual specialists regulating powerful supernatural potency.

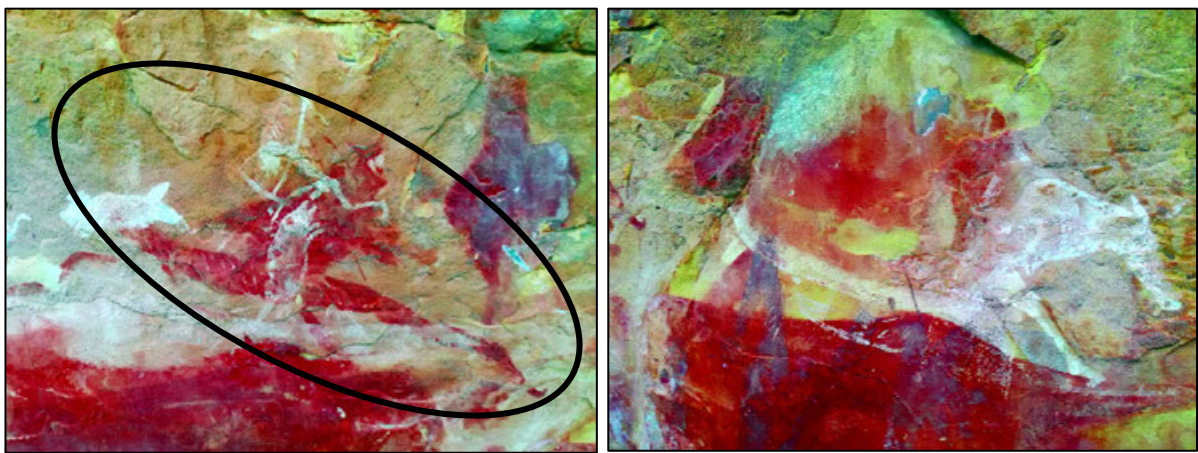


Figure 78: BOP1 Red sprinting ritual specialist with quiver, bow, and eared cap (left, black circle) with sprinting fat eland (right; Dstretch YRD).

Richard Katz (1982) shows that it takes a great deal of practice, skill, and courage to learn to control supernatural potency.

Both the young !Kung seeking their first experience of n/um and the old experienced healers, whose n/um is boiling for the thousandth time, fear the death they must face. Both fear passing through a territory of consciousness which can never become known, as their n/um boils and they burst into kia, the old ones acknowledge the fearful pain. Although they say that, when they were young, it used to hurt much more, they rarely say that the pain is no more (Katz 1982: 117).

It is this fear and the pain that is experienced that keeps many young people from continuing (Katz 1982: 92-159). Ritual specialists can lose control of regulating supernatural potency and hence their actions; rushing about shrieking, falling into the fire, lying trembling, twitching and moaning, or losing consciousness (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 81; Katz 1982: 144-145). This hyperactive state leads to an increased heartrate and rapid breathing (Lee *et al* 2016; Brabant 2018: 39), and the sometimes

experienced sensation of flight (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 56-57). Additionally, eland will only gallop when they are badly frightened (Underwood 1975: 21; Estes 1991: 189-190), indicating both the large quantity of supernatural potency but also, the fear associated with losing control of supernatural potency. I did not record any women ritual specialists sprinting, which may imply they did not lose control.

Both BOP1 and LEL4 depict men ritual specialists working with, or touching, male and female eland (Fig. 70, 71, 73). The eland depicted in these paintings are walking or standing with the men ritual specialists which does not portray natural behaviour (McGranaghan & Challis 2016). Animals in the wild will move away from humans. Thus, I argue these are men ritual specialists of the game portraying their control of antelope/eland potency, and control of the animal itself (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; McGranaghan & Challis 2016). The ritual specialists portrayed to the right and below those in both sites may portray, in their various postures, the accessing and acquiring of eland supernatural potency, and the three ritual specialists may portray the ritual undertaken while in altered states of consciousness – controlling game. The female eland painted at LEL4 may suggest another ritual.

At LEL4, the female eland painted in Cluster 1 is depicted unusually; her neck is striped (eland do not have striped necks), and her body and back legs are painted in different colours which indicates that she is a special eland, possibly a rain eland (Fig. 52). The paintings of female eland surrounding this decorated eland may emphasise her association with female rain. David Lewis-Williams (1981a: 106) shows the link between eland and rain in the story *“The rain, in the form of an eland, is shot by one of the early race of people”* (L. VIII. 16: 7461-7462, 17: 7463-7472). Here, the eland is both the rain animal and the rain (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 106-107). Furthermore, in both the /Xam and Mountain San’s renditions of the creation of the eland, the eland was created in water, or close to water (L. VIII. 6: 6505-6582; Orpen 1874: 4; Lewis-Williams 1981a: 107). These beliefs may indicate that male eland are more associated with male rain and supernatural potency because of their large quantities of fat (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 72), and female eland with female rain which restores the land (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004). Rain animals could be male or female (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 104; Hollmann 2004: 129). A male rain is feared because it causes strong winds, thunder and lightning and brings floods (L. VIII. 16: 7418-7429; Hollmann 2004: 130). People fear an angry rain (L. VIII. 23: 8010rev.-8011rev.). In opposition to the male rain, a female rain is *“fine rain, it is the one that rains nicely”* (L. VIII. 7: 6652rev.). ||Kabbo describes the new rain, the new water that is sweet (L. II. 24: 2214-2215; L. II. 25: 2264-2319). The rain brings the springbok and ostrich and we assume all antelope because there is water to drink and the

new grass will grow (L. II. 24: 2215, 2252; L. II. 25: 2264-2319; L. VIII. 3: 6259-6266, 6269-6271). The old men are asked to make rain, *"you must not work a bull, for, thou shalt work a female rain that is not angry, that it may gently rain for a nice rain it is...for the people do fear a male rain"* (L. II. 24: 2227).

There is another vital aspect of rain, and that is the relationship with girls at puberty. David Lewis-Williams (1981a: 52) demonstrated the close link between a girl at menarche and the rain, especially new rain. Both have magic power as Díä!kwāin relates: *"When she is a maiden, she has the rain's magic power"* (L. V. 13: 4939). Part of the associations of these paintings is a reminder for people, and especially young women, to follow customary procedures and not anger the rain.

The other ritual in which eland may be implicated is healing. At BOP1, a ritual specialist is depicted in the extreme bent forward posture on a thin red line fringed with white dots which extends around a male eland's neck and fans out in three lines, two of which lead to tiny ridges in the rock face (Fig. 71). The ritual specialist is unsexed, bleeding from the nose and the white dots are painted along its right arm. Below the extreme bent forward ritual specialist is a female eland and three ritual specialists, one sprinting, one is extreme bent forward nearly identical to the ritual specialist on the thin red line, and one is bent forward underneath the female eland, with spoor or flecks painted on its legs (Fig. 45). I argue these paintings may reference a healing ritual.

David Lewis-Williams (1981b), and later with colleagues (2000), interpret thin red lines, sometimes fringed by white dots, as the 'threads of light' that ritual specialists travel along in altered states of consciousness. They use multiple first-hand accounts from ritual specialists living and working in the Kalahari who describe travelling along these threads to God's house or village to plead for the soul of someone who is ill, to other places, to visit relatives and friends in distant camps, or to someone who needs healing, but predominantly it is mentioned relationally to healing (Lewis-Williams *et al* 2000: 128-131; see also Keeney 2003). These threads of light are travelled by experienced and powerful ritual specialists. Kxao /O/oo, a Ju/'hoānsi ritual specialist relates: *"If I want to learn to climb the threads to God's village, first of all I have to learn to heal people. After that, the healers will teach me how to use that thread"* (Katz *et al* 1997: 81 cited by Lewis-Williams *et al* 2000: 130). Richard Katz relates: *"Only the most powerful of healers can approach the great god during their healing efforts and bargain with him to save a patient"* (1982: 94). This evidence suggests that the ritual specialist painted in association with the thin red line is preeminent. I also argue that it is possible that paintings of ritual specialists in association with these lines represent expert ritual specialists that heal. This argument seems to be supported by certain paintings of rhebok.

Rhebok

I counted no male rhebok, 7 female rhebok, 3 indeterminate rhebok, 3 female Mountain Reedbuck and 5 female Grey Rhebok – 18 total – at BOP1. At LEL4, 5 indeterminate rhebok and 12 female rhebok – 17 total. Rhebok are painted in small groups of up to four, usually females with their young. Sam Challis (2003: 28) emphasised the significance of Grey Rhebok and their ‘snorting’ behaviour and argued it highlights the man/antelope connection and shared human/animal characteristics. The erect posture of male and female Grey Rhebok signals dominance and this posture is often accompanied by snorting (Estes 1991: 97, 113; Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 688; Fig. 79). Male Mountain Reedbuck will whistle through their noses with force so that their whole-body shakes (Estes 1991: 96). Like Sam Challis argued for snorting, I argue both these behaviours would be significant to ritual specialists because of the sensations experienced when using supernatural potency, and the process of healing those who are sick.



Figure 79: BOP1 paintings of female rhebok in upright, dominant posture.

One of the physical sensations of activating and regulating supernatural potency is trembling (L. V. 3: 4132-4161; L. V. 22: 5760-5775). "*The body trembles, especially the legs, and one has a blank, glassy stare*" (Katz 1982: 98). Dau adds to this comment from Kinachau: "*Your belly and spine quiver*" (Katz 1982: 98). "*N/um makes you tremble; it's hot*" (Katz 1976: 286 cited by Lewis-Williams 1981a: 81). Also, when healing, a ritual specialists' hands can vibrate (Katz 1982: 106). Thus, the Mountain Reedbuck is behaving similarly to ritual specialists when activating supernatural potency and healing.

For Ju/'hoānsi and /Xam ritual specialists, healing involved drawing the illness out of a patient's body into their own, and then expelling it (Katz 1982). The /Xam described the drawing out of sickness as snoring, which could be followed by a nose-bleed (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 78; Challis 2003: 28). Their healing was predominantly done with their noses. Thus, the snorting behaviour of Grey Rhebok may have been interpreted as similar to that of ritual specialists that heal (Challis 2003).

Further, I argue paintings of female rhebok and their young are closely allied to ritual specialists and their work (Fig. 80). Patricia Vinnicombe (1976: 197-198) suggested that paintings of rhebok with juveniles represent the San family group. I think her instincts were right, but not quite in the way she thought. The overwhelming and repeated patterning of associations between ritual specialists and rhebok make it likely that the labour of ritual specialists must be examined to understand these paintings.

We commonly count between 10 and 15 animals in groups of females and a single male Grey Rhebok and Mountain Reedbuck in the summer months. It is in the winter months that these groups reduce to 2 to 4 females only or males only. The paintings often depict female rhebok with juveniles or calves thus we can assume it is the summer, rainy months when there is nutritious grass to support mothers to feed their calves to a level that they survive the harsh winters (Estes 1991: 113; Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 689). The paintings do contain observed, 'documentary' aspects of behaviour which are selected to communicate specific, at times non-documentary, ideas and experiences. Thus, these paintings of female rhebok with their young suggest that rather than the general behaviour of rhebok herds, more specific behaviour is being emphasised, that of mothers caring for their young.



Figure 80: LEL4 female rhebok suckling calf.

Jeremy Hollmann suggests an interpretation of paintings of ritual specialists carrying 'babies' on their backs in the paintings of the Western Cape (2001). He uses Richard Katz's (1982) research of Ju/'hoānsi ritual specialists and describes two elements of carrying (Hollmann 2001: 64). The first is the way in which ritual specialists carry novices on their backs to help the novices' control and regulate the build-up of supernatural potency (Katz 1982: 136-137 cited by Hollmann 2001: 64; also Figure 87). Richard Katz presents Toma Zho's teaching of a novice:

After the student experiences kia, I rub him and rub him and rub him. That's how I do it. I teach him how to pull sickness, which is how to control n/um. We can do it three or four times, and maybe on the fourth time if I can see the student doing it, then I carry him around, I take him from person to person, and he pulls sickness through me. There are different ways of doing this. In one way, I pull the student I'm teaching, and then the sick one, and then the student, and then the sick one, and then the student, and all the things go into me. In another way, the one I'm teaching holds on to me around my back and hangs over my shoulders, and I pull, and the stuff goes through my body to his (Katz 1982: 136).

Jeremy Hollmann (2001: 64) continues with the second element of carrying: “Katz goes on to note that, in San idiom, the notion of ‘carrying’ also refers figuratively to the n/omkxaosi’s [ritual specialist’s] responsibility to ‘carry’ the community by safeguarding the camp and its inhabitants from evil forces”. As Richard Katz states: “Powerful healers talk of how their efforts are “carrying the camp” or keeping the camp healthy” (1982: 47). David Lewis-Williams also cites Díǎ!kwǎin who says that when experienced ritual specialists teach novices they give them their nasal blood to smell to activate supernatural potency (1981a: 78; also L. V. 3: 4122-4131). Sam Challis (2003: 51, 55) uses the information from the Ju/’hoǎnsi to explain paintings in Ndedema of ritual specialists carrying rhebok and eland although he argues the emphasis is on these figures as game ritual specialists and men carrying the community. I argue the predominant association of these paintings are of wo/men ritual specialists helping novices learn how to activate and control supernatural potency. An additional element of focus are their roles within the community through healing and controlling game.

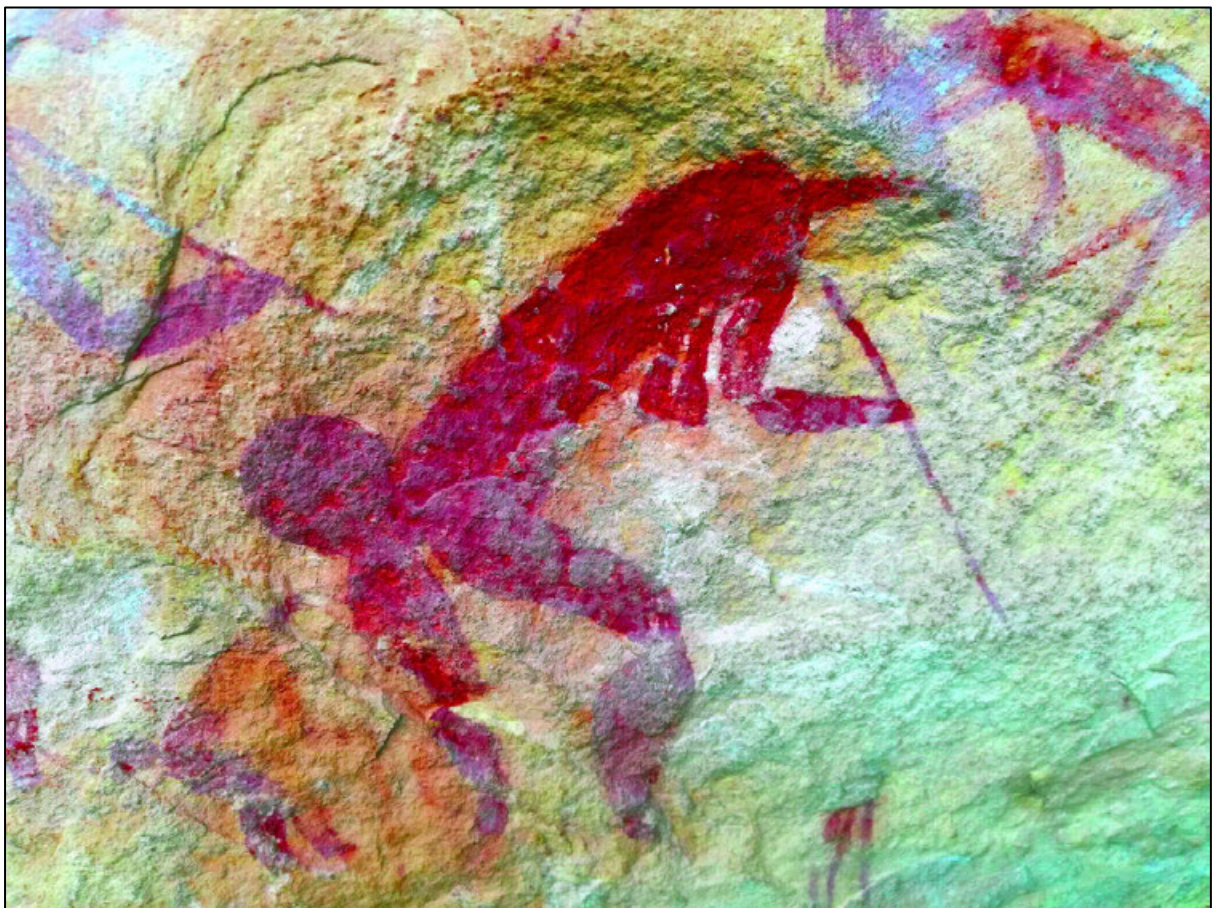


Figure 81: Woman ritual specialist with smaller figure with large buttocks painted to left, also bent forward and using a stick; appears to be replicating actions of larger woman ritual specialist: painting of a novice? (LEL4 Dstretch YRD).

Of further significance is the female rhebok that are portrayed looking back over their shoulders, described as curiosity behaviour (Challis 2003: 24; Fig. 82). When disturbed, rhebok will run away and then stop to look back at what caused the disturbance (Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 681). Sam Challis suggested two possible reasons for the depiction of this behaviour (2003: 24-25). He cited Francis Thackeray who, first, argued paintings of game depicting curiosity behaviour should be “*perceived in terms of game-controlling powers of shamans and unseen agencies*” (Thackeray 1987:42 cited by Challis 2003: 24-25). Second, this behaviour may make rhebok more susceptible to being driven – by looking back they do not see the trap ahead (Challis 2003: 25).



Figure 82: BOP1 Female Grey Rhebok looking over their shoulders.

I argue, rather, that curiosity behaviour may emphasise rheboks’ alertness and thus the skill of ritual specialists who control them. They control an animal who can detect movement 400-500m away, a stationary object 100-200m away and standing or moving rhebok 300-400m away (Estes 1991: 113). Francis Thackerays’ latter argument does not seem to be supported by the painted evidence because hunting is very rarely depicted. Rather, I suggest these paintings emphasise an aspect of rhebok behaviour which is similar to ritual specialists – an awareness of threat and the consequences. Malevolent ritual specialists shoot people with invisible arrows and make them ill (L. VIII. 14: 7287, 7288; 15: 7289-7295). They also can transform into lions who attack people, and even get into them to cause illness (L. V. 15: 5079-5103; L. VIII. 15: 7298-7303; L. VIII. 20: 7757-7762, 7768-7774).

Not only do ritual specialists heal those who have been made ill by ‘snoring’ out their sickness, but they also help other ritual specialists control supernatural potency so that they do not harm themselves or others (L. II. 1: 273-275). Additionally, ritual specialists also protect people from

malevolent ritual specialists (L. VIII. 20: 7757-7762, 7768-7774). This awareness of danger also extends to the importance of reminding the people to follow customary procedures to ensure benefits for all. As David Lewis-Williams (1997: 211) writes: "*As mediators of conflict both within their own communities and between their communities and their neighbours, the shamans held the balance of power*". The patterning in paintings of rhebok and their behaviour associate them with ritual specialists and the activation and regulation of supernatural potency to control game and perhaps heal. Thus, paintings of rhebok emphasise ritual specialists and their control of rhebok supernatural potency and the animals themselves; their training novices; and their role of caring for their communities by a) reminding them to follow customary procedures, b) protecting them from harm, c) providing for good hunting, and, d) by healing. Paintings of feline extend these gendered understandings.

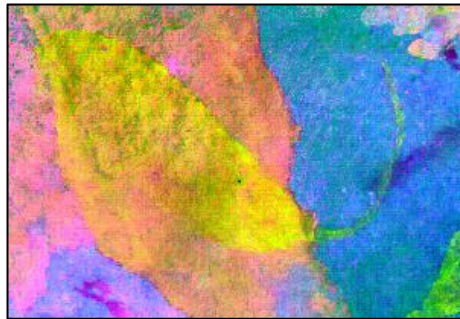
Feline

I recorded paintings of felines (Fig. 83) in four sites in Area 1 (36.4%), and seven in Area 2 (70%). In BOP1 I counted a single feline, and 5 at LEL4. I use 'felines' because they are difficult to identify to species although I identified three lions each in both areas. Paintings of felines are not rare here, as David Lewis-Williams and Sam Challis (2010: 7) argued for Ndedema Gorge and parts of the central Drakensberg. The felines I recorded are painted next to, in front of or behind, and amongst paintings of eland and rhebok, as is the one at BOP1. I recorded three that are depicted running like the one at BOP1.

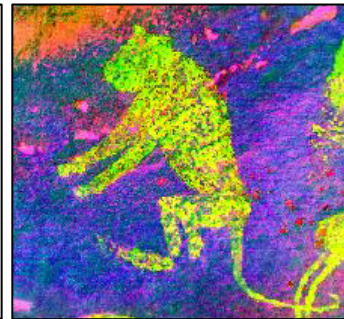
I argue it is possible to use /Xam beliefs about lions to understand paintings of felines because they believed wild cats can become lions, and thus have similar associations (L. VIII. 27: 8399rev.). The /Xam had great reverence for lions and in-depth knowledge of their behaviour (L. II. 10: 1088-1099, 11: 1100-1170). /Kaggen can transform into a lion (L. II. 9: 997-1002, 10: 1003-1051), as can ritual specialists. Ritual specialists in the form of lions can either be malevolent or benevolent. Ritual specialists when they become lions can attack good-looking people (L. VIII. 15: 7298-7303). Ritual specialists are said to "*snore*" the lion out of people, and then after smelling buchu, sneeze out the lion that has been making the person ill (L. VIII. 20: 7757-7762, 7768-7774). The lion made the rain to confuse the man, so he wouldn't know where his house was, and the lion could catch him. The lion made it rain and waited in a cave for the man who sought refuge there (L. V. 12: 4890-4926). In the story of a young man who escapes from a lion, the people shoot at the lion, but the lion does not die making them realise the lion is a ritual specialist (L. V. 7: 4457-4525). "*Can you not see that a scorcerer it now must be?*" (L. V. 7: 4512).



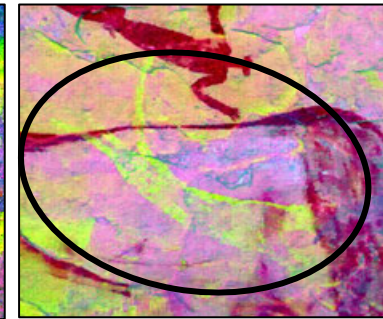
a. Dstretch YBK



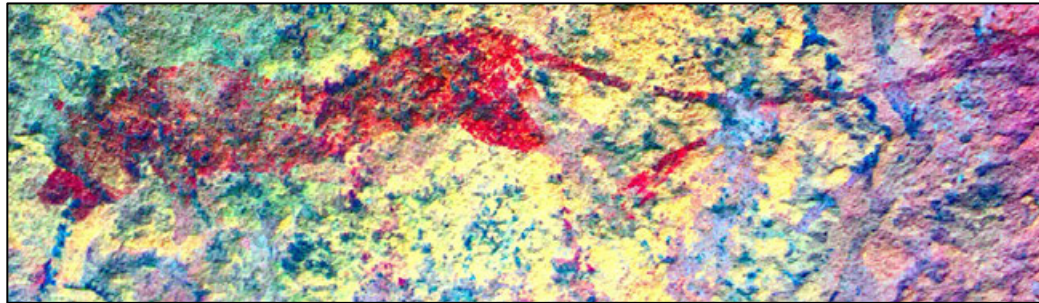
b. Dstretch CRGB



c. Dstretch CRGB



d. Dstretch CRGB



e. Dstretch LDS



f. Dstretch YRD

Figure 83: Paintings of feline at BOP1 (top left) and LEL4. a: antelope tail; e: bleeding? from mouth; d: very long legs; b-f: long tails; a, c, f: antelope- or human-like hind legs.

Díä!kwāin's aunt, Ttanno !khauken, is a ritual specialist who transforms into a lioness to check on them at night and to protect them (L. V. 10: 4707-4715). *"She saw what was going on while they did not see her"* (L. V. 10: 4716rev.). !Nuin|kúiten, a ritual specialist of the rain, used to change into a lion and travel about at night (L. V. 15: 5079-5101, 5104-5109). A woman transforms herself into a lioness to hunt (B. I: 161–167). When a ritual specialist is battling to control supernatural potency, people rub fat on his back to rid him of the lion's hair that grows there (L. V. 3: 4122-4131).

The one aspect of felines that is of central importance is their adept stalking and killing abilities (Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 378). They are very effective hunters, a fact recognised by the /Xam (L. II. 10: 1088-1099, 11: 1100-1170). I argue the proficient hunting abilities of cats is the central reason for their depiction in the rock paintings of Area 1 and Area 2 (*cf.* Lewis-Williams 1981a, 1985). Here, all the paintings of felines and lions that I recorded depict them with eland and rhebok. Of great significance is the antelope painted with the felines are not reacting as they should – none are depicted running away or as showing any fear behaviour (e.g. Fig. 74). They are behaving nicely because the ritual specialist in the form of a feline is controlling them. That antelope do not respond to threat from felines may mean that the ritual specialist is invisible to the game, but not to the viewer; it appears the artist is signalling control. I suggest this evidence supports the argument that felines are transformed ritual specialists who are emphasising their prowess in controlling supernatural potency and controlling game. Indeed, the painting of the feline in Cluster 1 at LEL4 may well be the woman ritual specialist painted in a similar pigment (Fig. 74). The woman ritual specialist is a controller of supernatural potency and game, supported by her close association with a female rhebok.

Impala

The painting of a male and female impala is of interest because of the rarity of depictions of these animals. The male and female depicted together references the mating season, the summer rainfall months. Males become extremely territorial and aggressive during this time and guard their females (Estes 1991: 159-163; Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 704-705). Part of impala's dominant behaviour is an erect posture, with their heads turned away (Estes 1991: 159-163; Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 704-705), depicted in this male impala. Their skin is greasy from the copious amounts of smelly secretions they release (Estes 1991: 159-163; Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 704-705). I have shown how scent and noses are important to the San, especially regarding young women's impact on the rain and ritual specialists who smell out sickness and heal with their noses. This painting may identify a specific group of ritual specialists showing their expertise, and perhaps even dominance in a specific type of ritual or physical area emphasising Richard Katz's statement about ritual specialists emphasising their prowess.

An important part of any painting of mating behaviour is reminding ordinary people to follow respect behaviours. The artist may be signalling a particular identity, and status of a specific group of, or individual, ritual specialist/s. The placement away from the other paintings may well support this argument.

GENDER AND SEX IN THE ROCK PAINTINGS OF THE NORTH EASTERN CAPE

The quantitative analysis of Area 1 and Area 2 suggested there are three categories of paintings of people: experienced and preeminent ritual specialists, ordinary ritual specialists, and novices, which my qualitative site analyses appeared to confirm. The experienced ritual specialists are depicted as individuals with differently shaped and sized penises, and in women, breasts. I could not identify any specific patterning in the depiction of large buttocks. Penis infibulation may identify preeminent ritual specialists, but I did not recognise a similar identifier in women. Both men and women ritual specialists are depicted naked which emphasises their extraordinary status and their transcending the bounds of ordinary people. Ritual specialists portrayed with breasts and penises portray mature men and women.

A youth category is difficult to define but may exist in paintings of ritual specialists without associated equipment, or in figures carrying smaller figures on their backs – either human or animal – or ritual specialists painted much smaller than the others, as depicted in LEL4, with the much smaller woman with large buttocks depicted next to the bent forward ritual specialist with breasts. Women and men ritual specialists are depicted in postures associated with accessing, acquiring, regulating, and using supernatural potency. One of the categories not identified by my quantitative research is that of deep trance non-gender. My detailed site analyses suggested that when ritual specialists are in deep trance their identity is focused on their actions and rituals and not on their identities as wo/man and hunter. No extreme bent forward ritual specialists were recorded with breasts or penises, or gendered equipment, and stand-alone heads, heads and shoulders, may also be part of this category. Additionally, the focus on depicting the experience and sensation of acquiring and using supernatural potency in the depicted postures, suggests the rock paintings are focused on a ritual context – people involved in and with these rituals were depicted.

There are also significant differences in the way men and women ritual specialists are depicted. Women are never depicted with bows, arrows, and quivers or in association with this equipment. When they are depicted holding equipment, it is sticks or sticks with bored stones. Men are depicted carrying and holding bows, arrows, and quivers, in association with this equipment, as well as sticks without bored stones. The hunter status of men and women is emphasised by this equipment. Additionally, I did not record any women with painted flecks or spoor on their bodies which only occurs in paintings of men. Men are given greater detailing in body decoration than woman. Men are also recorded wearing women's aprons but a like opposition does not occur in paintings of women ritual specialists – they are not associated with men's equipment nor clothing.

My quantitative analysis suggested the sex of the animals portrayed are important in understanding more of the identity of ritual specialists, which my qualitative site comparison developed. Ritual specialists use the supernatural potency of eland to heal, control game, and call the rain. In painting fat animals, ritual specialists may be portraying that they have already been successful in calling the rain. They may be signalling their prowess as ritual specialists of the rain. Additionally, it may be likely that paintings of female eland reference the soft, gentle female rains that are desired as opposed to male eland who may reference the angry, frightening, hail and lightning storms of male rain which ritual specialists may call when they are angry or that which happens when people do not follow respect practices and so anger the rain. Predominantly men ritual specialists are painted in association with rain animals, although I recorded two sites in Area 2 where women ritual specialists are depicted. This may mean that in Area 1, women ritual specialists did not call the rain.

Paintings of male and female eland together may also emphasise the importance of customary procedures. The community must follow the proper kinship, affinal, meat-sharing, and general respect practices to keep animals' fat, for everyone to live in harmony, and to not anger the rain. For young girls, their respect practices and channelling their sexual potency were especially important to not anger the rain, for good hunting, and so that men did not forget their wives. Everyone behaving nicely and keeping to customary procedures was essential for ritual specialists for it is they who dealt with the consequences. When things go wrong, when the community doesn't follow respect practices, there is fighting, animals grow thin and become wild, drought sets in, and people become ill. Paintings of eland running may well signify such times when things get out of control, become wild, when potency cannot be controlled, when the thong breaks. The ritual specialists and artists in painting fat eland may be reminding their communities to behave nicely.

Thus, paintings of eland in the research areas may depict the skill and courage of ritual specialists and also, may identify specific preeminent ritual specialists. They highlight that these ritual specialists were in control of the game and rain and further, the importance of their communities following customary procedures. Paintings of rhebok seem to bring focus to other areas of their expertise, and appear to focus on the work of wo/men ritual specialists in using and regulating supernatural potency to heal, and control game. Rhebok are an especially alert species and will flee at any disturbance making it extraordinary that they are painted with ritual specialists, eland, and other animals. This behaviour highlights the extraordinary proficiency of these ritual specialists in controlling rhebok.

In painting female rhebok with juveniles, ritual specialists may be referring to the training and care they give to those learning how to activate and regulate supernatural potency. They may also be referring to the way in which they work and care for their communities. Men ritual specialists are more often painted with female rhebok which may identify specific preeminent ritual specialists who train novices and emphasise their work for the community. The importance of *Inanna-sse* practices seems to be a peripheral but important element.

Paintings of felines may depict transformed ritual specialists. We know that only experienced and powerful ritual specialists could control the transformation into lions, which indicates that these paintings of felines may well refer to specific individuals who were demonstrating their prowess. Idiosyncratic paintings, such as the impala, may portray specific ritual specialists and their work. By painting an animals' sex, the artists were emphasising an aspect of that animals' behaviour or sex to communicate and emphasise specific meanings. These meanings appear to indicate that male animals were more associated with supernatural potency, male rain, and dominance, and female animals, supernatural potency, female rain, and caring for novices, ritual specialists, and the community.

The paintings of wo/men ritual specialists and fe/male animals demonstrate the individual and collective identities that are portrayed, with gender playing a central role. These gendered identities are not homogenous with the most marked difference between areas being the virtual absence of paintings of women ritual specialists in Area 1. I explore these differences and the implications thereof in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion: What this all means⁴

The rites' original purpose could have been related to the facilitation of the ontogenetic development of young initiates' normally fully situated minds into a more stabilised subject-object dualistic form, one which is more suitable for enculturation into a symbolic culture.

Froese 2015: 92

In this chapter I present reasons for the different gendered signatures of Areas 1 and 2. I explore the implications for individual and collective identities, and agency, in both areas, and elsewhere in the Drakensberg. I use these insights to examine the implications for understanding how rock paintings were made and used, and what the paintings' impact on performances of personhood may have been. I attempt to expose the complex, networked entanglements of paintings and people. I close the chapter with a summary of my research, the implications for rock art archaeology, and identify areas for future work.

WO/MEN RITUAL SPECIALISTS: RELATIONS OF POWER

Rock paintings are things, like many other things we examine in archaeology. They did not magically appear but were created by certain individuals and/or groups of people – and in the case of rock art this creation is almost always conscious and purposive. People could control what was depicted. The northern Eastern Cape paintings appear to focus on the real actions of wo/men ritual specialists:

The artistic intention and its abstract content indicate a capacity for detachment from immediate concerns, and a motivation to reflect and act upon this new space of possibilities (Froese 2013: 13).

This artistic intention in Areas 1 and 2 shows that wo/men ritual specialists were painted differently. Men ritual specialists were depicted in all sites in both areas, except one in Area 1 where only animals were recorded. I recorded women ritual specialists in one site in Area 1, and possibly a further two

⁴ In memory of, and with thanks to, Janet Spector (1993).

sites. In Area 2, I recorded women ritual specialists in seven of the ten sites. From other surveys that I have completed there appear to be many more paintings of women ritual specialists in Area 2 compared to Area 1. Additionally, there is also a difference in the way in which these wo/men's bodies are depicted.

For example, I did not record any women ritual specialists with detailed faces, bleeding from the nose, holding arrows or with stripes, flecks, or spoor depicted on their bodies. Women are not painted with quivers, bows, and arrows, or any equipment or accoutrements belonging to men. Men on the other hand, are depicted with a wide variety of body decoration and bows, quivers, and arrows, as well as sticks and women's aprons. I have argued that by depicting men and women ritual specialists naked, the artists show that these are people that transcend the bounds of ordinary people. Paintings of men with women's clothing or equipment shows that men can also transcend gender bounds, but this is not the case in paintings of women. Women appear to be constrained by their gender or by the people painting them – who may not be women and/or are trying to portray an ideal rather than a real. Additionally, men ritual specialists' status may be amplified by paintings of penis infibulation, but a similar device signalling status is absent, or unrecognised, in paintings of women, although their depicted 'fatness' may signal their taken-for-granted potency.

Rock paintings are not only evidence of how people perceived themselves, but also the aspects of this thinking they chose to portray. The paintings are not simply reflections of the everyday or the ordinary, even in extraordinary worlds, and the differential treatment of men ritual specialists appears to indicate the artists thought about, and represented them, differently to women. The evidence of finer and more complex detailing in men and their equipment suggests that they may have had an enhanced status and were perceived as being more potent than women – however ideologically-inspired such portrayal may have been. The artists chose to present men as more 'persuasive' (Joyce 2000: 11) and the differences in treatment of men and women are evidence of the manipulations of ideas of gender, tensions between genders, and what stereotypes were favoured. The rock paintings are not mere reflections of gendered identities, but rather a site where these identities were created, contested, and contextualised (Stevenson 1995). They may also indicate that the artists were men or perpetuated a masculine allegiance to present an 'ideal' in behaviours for ritual specialists and ordinary people.

I recognise that the painted layers in and between areas may have different ages but make a few observations on the patterns identified. I did not record any paintings of women in the bottommost layers but there are paintings of men (with penis: n=6). Paintings of women appear in the middle layers

(n=79) and are rarely painted in the topmost layers (n=9). This means that either there were no women ritual specialists in the earlier paintings or that they had a low status and the artists chose not to depict them. Or, women ritual specialists were truly potent, and expressed themselves in non-rock art media, with artists using the paintings to portray males as potent by under-representing women. That this situation changes in the appearance of paintings of women in the middle layers seems to indicate a change in status of women which may be explained by multiple factors. Women could obtain more freedom and status by becoming ritual specialists. We have already seen evidence from the /Xam and Ju/'hoānsi who recognised preeminent ritual specialists. Bo, a Ju/'hoānsi ritual specialist from Namibia, describes women ritual specialists' power:

When a man and a woman doctor dance while holding each other's hands, they can exchange their nails and arrows. This exchange is exhilarating and often makes the male doctor fall to the ground. The women doctors have a lot of power. Although they sometimes tell anthropologists that they are not doctors and pretend to let the men believe they are weaker, I know that some of our women have very strong power, they are the ones who want to dance all night and every night (Keeney 2003: 57).

Further, a young man ritual specialist, Kgao!ui, states: *"We don't want to dance with the women. Their power is as strong as the power that comes from being in the fire. We're scared of dancing with the powerful old women"* (Keeney 2003: 97).

Richard Katz (1982:242) shows that in the Kalahari, preeminent ritual specialists do not have to hunt or gather, but can devote their lives to *n/um*, *"their healing power better explains their existence"*. Their reputations of being powerful healers is very important (Katz 1982: 243). He describes one of the most powerful healers Wa Na, as acknowledged as the "owner" of the Goshe water-hole, having a central political position and extensive kinship ties – *"her great age, her political centrality, her extensive kinship ties, and her uniquely powerful n/um are all signs of importance, enhancing each other."* (Katz 1982: 223). This demonstrates that Wa Na's influence extended beyond the 'dance' to the everyday arenas of life.

When I refer to status, I do not mean hierarchical positions of power but rather the differential treatment given to certain people because of their labour (Sweely 1999: 3). This differential treatment is evident in the rock paintings of the research areas which appear to show that men's labour was regarded as more important than women's, and that women ritual specialists' power needed to be contained and constrained. We must be aware of reductive arguments that do not allow for the

contingency of power and how it can be manipulated through control of material items, control of space, and through ritual performance (Nelson 1999: 187) – contestations of identity. Additionally, we need to question if the anthropologists working through the 1960s to the 1980s considered the stories they were told as “*a subtle means to spread stereotypes of natural or essential human behaviour*” (Joyce 2000: 16) constrained by their own “*wishful thinking*” (Moran 2009: 138; also Keeney 2003: 57 above; Wessels 2008).

We must consider that women may have been powerful ritual specialists through all time, but their roles and status were controlled in the paintings, just as women’s behaviour was controlled by the ethnographically captured narratives of the recent past. The paintings are not mere reflections of the dominance of men, but rather the tensions between men and women, “*the interplay between contesting interests*” (Sweely 1999: 3), and the strategies certain men used to control.

The other aspects affecting women’s status are related to men’s labour, and the way in which it may have changed and been constrained by many factors, some influenced by the knowledge and then presence of non-San groups over the last two millennia (also Challis 2008):

- the acquisition of domestic stock, cattle and sheep, and their care;
- with men’s roles in a political realm of interacting with different groups of people;
- with their roles of protecting their stock and even their territory;
- with their roles in raiding stock or recovering stock stolen from them;
- with their roles as ritual specialists for other groups of people.

These factors may have impacted on the time and availability of men ritual specialists to ensure the physical and spiritual health of their own communities (see Keeney 2003: 120). These changes imply that women may well have fulfilled more of these roles, although their status in the paintings appears to have been constrained by their gender.

This contact with other groups of people, Sotho, Nguni, and Khoekhoe descendants, is signalled in the paintings by, for example, depictions of shields, horses, front and back aprons, and finger-painted geometrics. Sotho and Nguni societies were strictly patrilineal and patriarchal, and the only arena for women to obtain a certain level of status and power was in becoming a diviner (Hammond-Tooke 1993: 18, 41, 107, 110-114; 1998: 10-11, 13). Indeed, David Hammond-Tooke argues the preponderance of women diviners is caused by the extreme patriarchy of southern Nguni society (1998: 13). In Khoekhoe societies, women were accorded more power and status, especially in the use

and control of the highly valued commodity of milk (Barnard 1975: 15, 1980: 119; Webley 1992: 50; Lombard & Parsons 2015). It appears that in the research areas, the San in Area 2 had more contact and interaction with Khoekhoe descendants, and Area 1, Sotho and Nguni descendants (Fig. 5; Chapter 1), which may partially help to explain the differently gendered imprints of the two areas.

However, the differences between Areas 1 and 2 are difficult to explain without age determinations. We may find that the San living in the high Drakensberg of Area 1 retained a specific male identity throughout and controlled and subverted the power of women by not depicting them. Or, we may find that the paintings in Area 1 are much older than Area 2, and the San painting here, moved into the central and northern Drakensberg, whereas, the San of Area 2 remained, and their knowledge of, and then contact, and later, interactions with non-San groups, influenced their attitudes towards women. Equally important is evidence from excavation archaeology which, if studies included gendered foci, could provide information on understandings of gender, and gender roles in the distant past. These understandings could also provide comparative information that would support or refute my argument that all fine-line paintings were produced with the knowledge of others, both 'San' and non-San.

Whatever the case, the evidence I have presented suggests the rock paintings in Areas 1 and 2 are relatively consonant with the ethnographic narratives. The paintings depict the differently valued gendered individual and communal labours, rituals, and beliefs and the way in which these actions were used to socialise women and men into acceptable behaviours, whether that be in learning how to access and regulate supernatural potency or the critical importance of following customary procedures and respect practices. Equally important, is the underlying structure of the paintings appear to be very similar or at least cognate throughout the layers. This speaks both to a time depth in beliefs /knowledges, and, that these are not timeless and do change. Additionally, a specific type of power held by artists. The way this works is actioned on multiple levels which I now explore.

GENDERED IDENTITIES

The paintings from Areas 1 and 2 show men and women ritual specialists depicted with differently shaped and sized penises and breasts. This specificity indicates individual as well as groups of men and women working in, for, and known by, their communities. Sites such as BOP1, show paintings of men ritual specialists depicted in the same pigment and style, but with differently shaped and sized penises; a deliberate attempt by artists to portray individuals. This finding is significant because it is unusual to

find evidence for individual people, and their thoughts and actions, in the archaeological record. An important part of this specific gendered identity was wo/men's status as 'hunter', but not in the usual sense. Instead, these extraordinary people control animals so that others may hunt. They call the rain so that animals can grow fat; they control these same animals to provide for good hunting, as well as control the supernatural potency of antelope to heal. Some of these individuals may be preeminent indexed through portrayal of, for example, penis infibulation, or their close association with felines and thin red lines. Some of the ritual specialists that are portrayed may be ordinary, or novices, learning how to access, activate, regulate, and use supernatural potency. These identities are not homogenous evidenced by the paintings of women ritual specialists that occur in Area 2. Additionally, I have visited some of Patricia Vinnicombe's (1976) sites in the central Drakensberg, where she recorded paintings of a woman ritual specialist with a detailed face, possibly bleeding from the nose, breast tassels, and head feather accoutrements (Fig. 84), suggesting that in the central Drakensberg gendered identities may have evolved differently to Areas 1 and 2.

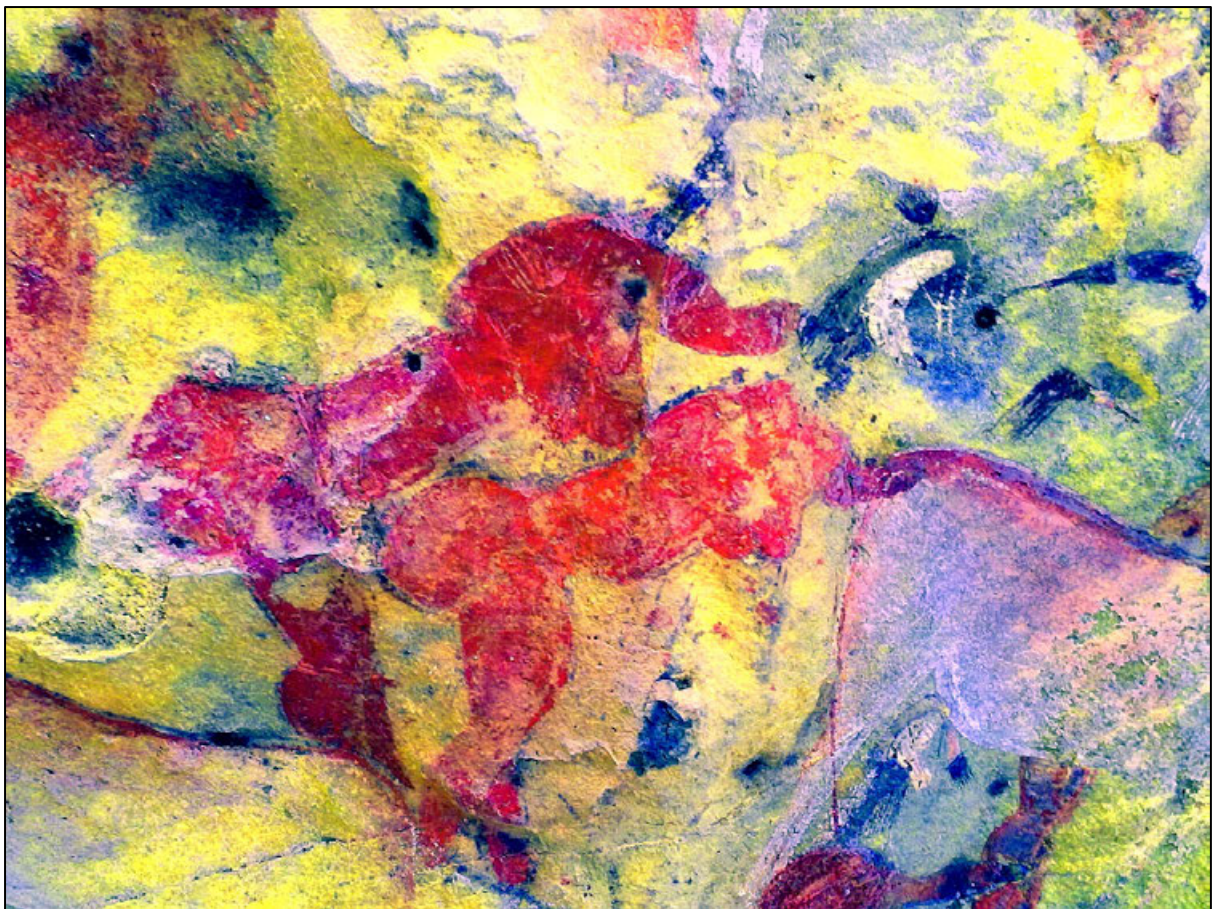


Figure 84: Woman ritual specialist with detailed face, breast tassels?, and head feather accoutrements (Dstretch AC).

Of further significance to understanding the gendered identities of ritual specialists in Areas 1 and 2, are paintings of female and male animals which bring focus to, and extend on, specific elements of these identities, both individual and collective.

INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

The gendered identity of individual ritual specialists is extended in paintings of male and female animals such as paintings of ritual specialists with feline, or as transformed into feline, which emphasise their expertise in working with and controlling supernatural potency, but may also emphasise their ability in game control. An additional element may be their latent beneficial or malevolent power. Paintings of female rhebok appear more associated with the specific work of specific ritual specialists, but may also identify specific groups of ritual specialists, such as the paintings of white female rhebok. The rare paintings of impala suggest a like case, of ritual specialists portraying a specific individualised type of potency, dominance, and expertise. That this is possible is demonstrated by Sam Challis (2008), who has shown the AmaTola self-identified through paintings of baboon and horses.

Furthermore, there are three times more paintings of eland than rhebok in Area 1 (252:87). In Area 2, the difference is less marked, and eland are painted 1.5 times more than rhebok (152:101). I have argued that eland are associated with supernatural potency and ritual specialists, rain, healing, and game-control, and the many paintings of male and female eland together emphasise the importance of following respect practices. This emphasis appears to change in paintings of rhebok which seem to be more closely associated with ritual specialists and their work: accessing and regulating supernatural potency, game control, and healing, with their care for novice ritual specialists and the community emphasised. Thus, we may find that this shift in focus, from predominantly painting eland to painting more rhebok signals a concomitant shift in the focus of the artists from an equal emphasis on ritual specialists and the community to more of an emphasis on the work of ritual specialists, perhaps in a guild-like manner. There are also more paintings of feline in Area 2 which may support this argument. Additionally, it may indicate a difference in identities between the two areas.

Paintings recorded by Patricia Vinnicombe in the central Drakensberg give further support because there appears to be a difference in how ritual specialists in this area painted themselves as owners of eland/antelope potency. For example, in Figures 85 and 86 there is a close painted association between antelope, hunting bags, eland, and ritual specialists, showing a different manner of painting

ritual specialists using eland potency to control eland, or antelope. I have not recorded any paintings like these in the research areas which indicates that while ritual specialists in the Drakensberg shared ideas and rituals, the way these were structured were different. Differences in how they identified with animals and enacted their beliefs – specific collective identities.



Figure 85: Eland, ritual specialist and hunting bag associations (Dstretch AC).



Figure 86: Quiver and antelope association; note fly-whisks to left of quiver.

ROLE OF THE PAINTINGS, PLACE, AND PEOPLE

My quantitative and qualitative focus on gender and sex in the rock paintings of the northern Eastern Cape appears to show the paintings are centred on wo/men accessing, acquiring, regulating, and using supernatural potency. The artists appear to have focused on describing the physical sensations of this process, as well as what was seen and done by ritual specialists in altered states of consciousness. Of the 21 sites that formed part of my research, eleven (52.38%) are large enough to allow for people to undertake a trance dance. Of these eleven, three accommodate a dance within eight metres, but not directly in the shelter, as in BOP1. I have worked on an area of roughly 20m² based on estimations of group size and a small space for a fire from ethnographic descriptions (Lee 1979; Katz 1982; Marshall 1999: 64). Thus, there are only some sites where ritual specialists could look to the paintings during a dance to intensify their potency and govern their visioning (Lewis-Williams 2001: 33). If we also consider that many dances take place throughout the night, thus making it difficult for ritual specialists to see images in those sites where dancing could only take place close-by, we further reduce this

number to eight (38%). This implies, and emphasises, that wo/men ritual specialists may have undertaken other activities and processes to access supernatural potency in these sites, such as focused attention, lucid dreaming, and meditations, using the paintings to govern the process and visioning.

Hallucinations are often experienced in altered states of consciousness (Fromm 1976: 561; Vaitl *et al* 2005; Móró 2010: 243; Sacks 2012; Lifshitz *et al* 2018) and are void of prefrontal-dependent cognition or decrease prefrontal viability (Dietrich 2003: 238, 248; Letheby & Gerrans 2017: 6-9; Lifshitz *et al* 2018). Without the prefrontal cortex, we lose higher cognitive functioning: self-construct, self-reflective consciousness, complex social function, abstract thinking, cognitive flexibility, planning, willed action, theory of mind, working memory, temporal integration, and sustained and directed attention (Dietrich 2003: 232-233; Lifshitz *et al* 2018).

For wo/men ritual specialists to control their movements or to touch someone during an altered state would require a certain level of engagement in the prefrontal cortex. Also, to control and direct the images that they see, they need their prefrontal cortex. Both require practice – conditioning the body and the brain to achieve a certain level of consciousness that enables visioning but also retains the directed attention and willed action of the prefrontal cortex (Lifshitz *et al* 2018). Arne Dietrich (2003: 235) states:

Given that automatic motor behaviors are controlled by the basal ganglia (Mishkin et al., 1984), the more a skill is practiced and becomes automatic, the less prefrontal cortex activity is required during its execution. Hence, while performing a routine task, the prefrontal cortex is permitted to generate a daydream scenario. At any time, the control can be transferred back to the prefrontal cortex....

This explains the many years it takes to become ritual specialists and develop proficiency in this control. I argue the rock paintings were used, and played a major role in, teaching and guiding this process of learning (Fig. 87).



**Figure 87: Transformed ritual specialist carrying another on its back Area 1 (black circle).
May depict ritual specialist training another, showing the process and sensations of
working with supernatural potency (Dstretch LAB).**

This also implies that we may need to revisit arguments for the rock face as a veil between the real world and the 'spirit world' beyond (Lewis-Williams 1981b; Lewis-Williams *et al* 2000). While the rock paintings are our primary evidence for what people thought, Mark McGranaghan (2012: 201-202) shows: *"Although the spirit world is almost universally deployed as a heuristic device when discussing /Xam ritual and religious life, the archive provides little direct evidence that this reflects an emic categorisation"*. I argue rather, the rock face was used as a visual device to enact the supernatural potency, rituals, and visions that were so crucial for ritual specialists to enter, regulate, and control in altered states of consciousness as well as a useful tool for expressing the feelings and sensations of hallucinations to novices and ordinary people.

The rock paintings are the rituals (also Witelson 2018), and an expression of that ritual. This argument is supported by the paintings in multiple ways. Ritual specialist artists show the process of accessing supernatural potency, sometimes as a row of figures in various postures carefully identified to the postures of people in dances in the Kalahari, or figures standing or seated with their hands to their

noses, or arms bent back, bent up, or straight out which suggest other ways of accessing supernatural potency and show this process (Chapter 4; Lewis-Williams 1981a; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Green 2017). Sometimes only fragments of these processes are painted – one or two figures bent forward, arms bent up, open legged postures, splayed fingers, attenuated necks etc. There are also multiple figures that depict the physical sensations of these processes, for example: bleeding from the nose, what may be sweat falling around them, bands painted around their waists to show the feelings of constriction experienced, raised hair along their backs, painted as extremely tall, have extra digits – usually recorded as extra fingers or in antelope, extra legs in Areas 1 and 2 (Lewis-Williams 1988; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 77; Lewis-Williams 1992: 13; Lewis-Williams 1998: 90; Green 2017). These paintings depict the activated and continuing regulation of supernatural potency for other people – the physical attributes of entering and being in an altered state of consciousness.

Then there is the repeated use of different features in and of the rock face – cracks, edges, depressions, steps, hollows and calcite' runs (see Witelson 2018: 91-118). Painted figures and animals are contained by hollows and depressions, going into or out from cracks, hollows, or rock spalls, standing or moving along a crack or edge, and disappearing into calcite' runs. Rather than showing figures and animals entering and leaving the spirit world, I argue this use of the rock face is the ritual specialist artists portraying their actual experiences; the sensations of deep hallucinations, as well as the multiple and rapidly changing realities, multidimensionality, and timelessness of hallucinations – an enactment of reality to those who have not experienced an altered state of consciousness or need to guide and control this process. These paintings are both the visual phenomena and deep hallucinations that are experienced, as well as the ritual itself. These enactments help other ritual specialists, whether experienced or novices to guide their experiences, as well as communicate these experiences to non-ritual specialists, novices, and ordinary people. It may not hold that wo/men ritual specialists would portray a spirit world beyond the rock face when in fact, they are in the spirit world, in the material world. The paintings are real, not spirit-world real, nor material-world real, just real, they have agency and ritual specialists and ordinary people, were active in producing meaning (see Low 2014 quoted below).

Some sites may have been used for focused mediations, special curings, and lucid dreaming – indeed, paintings of non-San groups may indicate these types of focused meditations to obtain deeper understanding, which neuro-cognitive research show is possible (Shannon 2003: 140, 143, 147-148; Díaz 2010; Shannon 2010: 267-271; de Araujo *et al* 2012). Some sites may have been used for the training of young novices – the paintings guiding the process of accessing and regulating supernatural

potency, and perhaps other rituals such as those for puberty. Some sites may have been dedicated to dancing, including ordinary people in the physical and psychological benefits of the dance, and the construction of meaning. Thus, the rock paintings have an agency that both enables and constrains the thoughts, actions, and activities of people, and the various performances could also activate the paintings (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004).

IMPLICATIONS

I have argued that paintings of men and women ritual specialists are active in three aspects of socialisation: the visioning and rituals undertaken by wo/men ritual specialists, the conditioning of novices and communities, and gendered identity marking. I believe it important to begin to test patterning in the paintings in and between different areas to explore these ideas further. Boundaries may not have been static – people may not have been limited to geographical areas and had spatially complex networks of relations – but they also may have created and developed area-specific identities. As Jo McDonald and Peter Veth (2011: 222) argue:

Aggregation behavior, with its opportunities for contested space, identity signaling, and highly public messaging, particularly at resource nodes around the Western Desert, would have presented the opportunities for the dissemination of social information, with both personal and distinctive group-identifying and bounding behavior being the result (after Wiessner 1989, 1990).

Using a quantitative method in rock art research is beneficial because it is an archaeological method proven to give insights into questions asked of things from the past when supported by other lines of evidence (Ouzman 2001). I tested this method and it has provided important understanding of beliefs about gender and sex and how these may have changed through time. Critically, it has provoked my identification of the differential portrayal of penises, and breasts, which I argue reference individual agency.

I recognise that all research is etc. If we start with the basic and most important question of whether people in the past would want us to research their things we realise we cannot (and should not) answer affirmatively with any confidence (see Wylie 2015). Crucially, we do not take our categories of counted images at face value, we test them. In testing them, we can assess if they are supported by other independent lines of evidence, ethnography, excavated evidence, and neuroscience for

example. If these categories are not supported, this is also very important, such as my discovery of the possibility of a non-gendered category in the paintings. What does not work is as important as what does because of the learning it provides for the relevance of our theories, methodologies, and methods. I have explored the limitations of my research in Chapter 3 but emphasise two general points below.

SCOPE

When I began my research process it was without experience in the quantitative method that I have tested. I did not know that in using this method I would produce a prodigious amount of information about the paintings in the high Drakensberg and lower lying areas of the northern Eastern Cape. Once I had completed writing up my results and began to analyse them, I realised that explaining all the categories would be impossible. I made a subjective choice to not include many which may bring further insight into my conclusions or change some of them.

AGE DETERMINATIONS

It is frustrating that dating is still such an issue in rock art archaeology. It is very difficult to argue for time phases according to pigments used, superimposing, and painted techniques because all three could occur synchronically or diachronically. I have refrained from trying to fit my records with similar paintings that have been dated from nearby Maclear, because these attempts would be merely speculative. It is an extreme limitation not having more concrete dates because we cannot fully understand change through time, both of which also need further theorising in archaeology (see Fabian 1983). I am hopeful that academic departments that can access the funding do so in a way that is focused on multi-disciplinary research to develop new techniques that are affordable and accessible. It is deeply problematic when certain analyses are only available to a select few because it furthers the limitations and unequal power relations that exist in archaeological practice. Imagine a day when we can use hand-held devices, non-destructively, to get age determinations of rock art. I now turn to the many areas to which my research has contributed and, to those needing further study.

GENDERED RITUAL SPECIALISTS

The categories I identified of preeminent and experienced, ordinary, and novice wo/men ritual specialists, and supportive acoustic groups, need further research and testing, especially sexually indeterminate ritual specialists. My detailed site comparison showed there may be an ungendered category where ritual specialists are depicted without sexual features or gendered equipment and these images may well describe a loss of self and changes in understandings of personhood. This may establish a case for a 'third or fourth gender' but may also show the gender of these figures is assumed or irrelevant. Further research may also enable a deeper understanding of ordinary ritual specialists, who can be further categorised into paintings of novices – youths – another significant finding of this research because archaeologies of childhood are neglected (Gilchrist 1999: 90-92; Baxter 2008; Crawford *et al* 2018). Age may be a central defining factor in the identities of these people. Detailed studies of the equipment that is portrayed with these figures may also provide further information on their identities.

I have argued penis infibulation is a visual device to emphasise the pre-eminence of a ritual specialist. It may be a short-lived and area-specific phenomenon. To test my hypothesis, we need to focus on figures with this feature to find out in what contexts they are painted, and how the actual infibulation is depicted – across the penis with any detail. This information may allow us to identify specific groups of preeminent ritual specialists in the paintings, and we may find they were specialist game-tamers or healers for example. Of further interest is whether a similar painted convention was used to identify preeminent women ritual specialists. These analyses may give more information about how gender was valued as well as "*the circumstantial nature of power*" (Sweely 1999: 12).

The other category of ritual specialists that needs further research is an analysis of what kind of categories of therianthropes there are, and if gender is a criterion. I have only seen one potential therianthrope with breasts in Area 2. This does not mean they do not exist, but further studies will provide more information on this specific type of painting and what they can tell us about ritual specialists and their work. Additionally, these studies may give further insights into the 'ungendered' category. Furthermore, they may provide more information about the ways in which gender and the work of ritual specialists were valued because my results show that therianthropes are only painted with penises which implies, in some cases, men's labour may have had a greater value.

REGIONAL COMPARISONS

I have shown there are differences in paintings occurring in the high Drakensberg (Area 1) and lower lying surrounding areas (Area 2). More paintings of women ritual specialists are found in the lower lying areas. Further studies at other sites on women ritual specialists and their painted associations will determine what role they played and how these roles were valued.

More men ritual specialists painted with penises are depicted next to female rhebok which may support my argument for preeminent men ritual specialists emphasising their role as carers of novices and the community at large. It may also support Sam Challis' (2003) argument for 'maleness'. These studies of rhebok and wo/men ritual specialists may also give further information on the symbolic associations of rhebok, and whether they were used in rain-calling rituals and considered as 'rain-animals' like eland were.

These aims should be extended to the central Drakensberg (and beyond) to determine how eland, other animals, and ritual specialists are painted in these areas and if these depictions are different to what is found here. My research shows that there are differences and detailing these differences could give more information about the wo/man ritual specialists working in these areas. This fine-grained research may lead to the possible identification of specific groups of San who had contact with each other, but still chose differing modes of identity marking. Indeed, it may be the 'contact' that created the need to put up distinctive markers of identity.

ENGENDERING THE ROCK ART ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE NORTH EASTERN CAPE

My research is centred on a comparative analysis of collections of 2852 rock paintings in the northern Eastern Cape focusing on gender in painted humans and to some extent, sex in painted animals, to understand more of personhood. In Chapter 1, I presented my research questions and my approach to answering them. I defined sex, gender, and identity as contingently and contextually constructed and performed and explained the terminology I use. I provided a description of the structure of this dissertation and described the physical environment of the high Drakensberg (Area 1) and lower surrounding areas (Area 2) in the northern Eastern Cape where this study is based. I also included a description of the climate over the past 3000 years which is the approximate time period in which the rock paintings were produced. I described the people known to have lived in or moved through these

areas in this period. The most recent dates acquired from rock paintings in Area 1 were presented although no dating was undertaken in my research. I described the various layers I identified as bottom, middle, and upper, and showed the difficulty of arguing an age for the paintings because the different techniques (fine-line, polychrome, less fine-line, bichrome) and pigments (fine, coarse, watery), may have been used by artists at the same time. I gave a brief description of the paintings and ended the chapter with a few of the reasons for my research focus.

In Chapter 2, I suggested that archaeological research is generally focused on questioning relevance which is critical to maintain self-reflexivity for archaeological practice. I explained the use of Standpoint feminist theory which provides an inclusive, non-exploitive theory and method for approaching the past that exposes dominant power relations and structures, and the way in which they can limit what and how we know. Notably, it requires *“a commitment to treat gendered experience and self-understanding as a critical resource at all stages of research”* (Wylie 1992a: 29). Further influencing my approach were Ian Hodder’s (2012) ideas on entanglement and his identification of four important relationships between people and things. These dependences and dependencies between people and people, people and things, things and people, and things and things, create affordances and constraints in an active process. Things ‘become’ rather than ‘are’ (Hodder 2012: 209). I abstracted these ideas for use in forager contexts. I completed the chapter with a description and critique of previous research on gender in rock art. I used this analysis to highlight the important foundation that has been laid by this research and the learning I applied to this study.

In Chapter 3, I explained my theory and analysis of how I have undertaken my research – my methodology – and emphasised that all knowledge projects are value-laden. I described the strong objectivity that feminist scientists aspire to which recognises that knowledge is situated and thus partial. In working towards strong objectivity, I used Alison Wylie’s consilience model of confirmation. This model proposes that the theories and evidence we use must be secure, and independent in three ways. When patterning becomes established and the underlying structure between evidence is similar, our evidence converges, and we can be confident in our conclusions. The more lines of convergence we have, the more confident we can be. Turning to my method, I described my quantitative and qualitative methods using two research areas, one in the high Drakensberg surrounding Barkly East (Area 1), and the lower lying areas around Aliwal North (Area 2). I chose two research areas to test the applicability of such approach and to enable a comparison of the evidence from each area. Site recording procedures were explained with the problems surrounding sampling techniques and the use of numbers. The multiple lines of evidence that I used are described,

problematised, and my approach to, and method in analysing them. Thus, evidence from surface archaeology, historical accounts, excavation archaeology, ethnography, ethology, and neurocognitive research provided a context to and evidence for my interpretation of the rock paintings of the research areas. I included the limitations in my method.

In Chapter 4, I presented the results from my quantitative analysis of the rock paintings of Areas 1 & 2. I illustrated the various categories I constructed and showed that establishing categories is a process because the paintings constrain what can or cannot be argued. The quantitative method is useful for providing information that may establish patterns, whether they be frequently painted images and associations, or ones that are not. I detailed the gender of humans, their depicted actions, and what they are holding, carrying, wearing, and their body decoration. To gain some understanding of these categories I analysed the southern San ethnography which shows they associated biological sex with gender, and age and initiated status were important to these identities. Nice behaviours were a central element of these identities (McGranaghan 2012). While men and women were active participants in ensuring prosperity, the greatest threat came from young women and much of her independence and freedom was constrained. The one arena where women could explore a different identity was in learning how to acquire and regulate supernatural potency. The ethnographies indicate that wo/men ritual specialists had complex gendered identities that included their biological sex and the nice behaviour expected of them as men and women of the community, but they could transcend these identities in their roles as ritual specialists where gender, age, and initiated status may not have been important.

I also examined the ethnography regarding clothing, equipment, and body decoration, and argued the paintings of Area 1 and Area 2 focus on ritual specialists and their experiences because of the way in which these figures are clothed, decorated, the associated equipment, and the surrounding painted human and animal contexts. The painted evidence suggested that there are three categories of ritual specialists – those that are experienced and preeminent, those that are ordinary, and those that are novices. Furthermore, these paintings of men with penises and women with breasts indicate specific individuals because their penises and breasts are depicted differently. The people viewing the paintings may well have known which ritual specialists, or groups thereof, were referenced.

To explore these hypotheses further, I examined and compared two sites, one from each research area. This process confirmed my initial results and produced further information. Experienced ritual specialists seem to have been depicted as individuals with different shaped and sized penises, and in

women, breasts. Penis infibulation may identify preeminent ritual specialists, but I did not recognise a similar identifier in women. Both men and women ritual specialists are depicted naked which may suggest their extraordinary status and their transcending the bounds of ordinary people. Ritual specialists portrayed with breasts and penises may portray mature men and women.

A youth category is difficult to define but may exist in paintings of ritual specialists without equipment, carrying 'babies' – either human or animal – or ritual specialists painted much smaller than the others, as depicted in LEL4, with the much smaller woman with large buttocks depicted nearly identically to the bent forward ritual specialist with breasts. Women and men ritual specialists are depicted in postures associated with accessing, acquiring, regulating, and using supernatural potency. One of the categories not identified by my quantitative research was that of deep trance non-gender. My detailed site analyses suggested that when ritual specialists are in deep trance their identity is focused on their actions and rituals and not on their identities as wo/man and hunter. No extreme bent forward ritual specialists were recorded with breasts nor penises, nor gendered equipment, and stand-alone heads, heads and shoulders, may also be part of this category.

There are also significant differences in the way men and women ritual specialists are depicted. Women are never depicted with bows, arrows, and quivers or in association with this equipment. When they are depicted holding equipment, it is sticks or sticks with bored stones. Men are depicted carrying and holding bows, arrows, and quivers, in association with this equipment, as well as sticks without bored stones. The hunter status of men especially, and women, is indexed by this equipment. Additionally, I did not record any women with painted flecks or spoor on their bodies which only occurs in paintings of men. Men are given greater detailing in body decoration than woman. Men are also recorded wearing women's aprons but a like opposition does not occur in paintings of women ritual specialists – they are not associated with men's equipment or clothing.

I have argued that paintings of animals are closely associated with the work of ritual specialists, whether that is in the rituals that are undertaken in altered states of consciousness or in the reminder to ordinary people to follow customary procedures. By painting an animals' sex, the artists may have been emphasising an aspect of that animals' behaviour or sex to communicate and emphasise specific meanings. These meanings appear to indicate that male animals may have been associated with supernatural potency, male rain, and dominance, and female animals, supernatural potency, female rain, and caring for novices, ritual specialists, and the community.

GENDER, POTENCY, AND PRAGMATICS

To understand this material one must recognise the ingredients of day-to-day life, not in a romantic wild sense, but simply as what happens, what works and what counts in KhoeSan life and sociality. Actions are undertaken within particular habits of meaning attribution and ways of working with information at practical, physical and social levels (Low 2014: 361).

My research focused on selected rock paintings in two specific areas of, and close to, the northern Eastern Cape Drakensberg, to detail the pragmatics of the specific people who lived in these areas. This focus has exposed three significant findings. First, the gendered identities of the people in these areas were complex, contested, and contextual. I have argued the paintings show that wo/men ritual specialists could transcend the norms of ordinary people, but men seemed to have enjoyed more freedom, status, and power than women. The paintings may well have acted as a controlling mechanism for the potency of women. Additionally, the paintings may portray the behaviours and identities expected of men and women ritual specialists, and how these stereotypes were constructed and contested.

Second, certain paintings of ritual specialists may show a focus on depicting individual men and women in the community and emphasise individual agency. The paintings of penis infibulation, rhebok in white pigment, and impala for example, may identify specific groups of ritual specialists signalling a specific collective identity.

Third, the arc of childhood is neglected in archaeological research, more so than gender. The paintings may well depict youths, who may have different gendered identities and perhaps show differences in the way adults and youths were conceptualised and socialised.

The rock paintings are authored and ideological. They show how people were thinking through and experiencing specific things in the past. The paintings of wo/men ritual specialists and fe/male animals demonstrate the individual and collective identities that are portrayed, with gender playing a central role. These gendered identities are not homogenous with the most marked difference between areas being the virtual absence of paintings of women ritual specialists in Area 1, and the few paintings of male rhebok. The paintings of Areas 1 and 2 show individual, and groups of, ritual specialists displaying their work, and at times expertise in this work, in their communities, not only when things go right, but also when things go wrong. These individual gendered identities may be governed by a collective male identity, seen in the lack of paintings of women ritual specialists in Area 1, and the way in which

women are depicted differently in both areas – men ritual specialists may have enjoyed a higher status than women. These collective gendered identities also appear to differ between the two areas, as well as those further afield, where women are at times painted in a similar manner to men. This means that further fine-grained research in these areas and others may give us more information on how individuals, and individual groups of San, constructed a very specific type of personhood.

The evidence I have collected demonstrates that the selected rock paintings of the research areas depict the many communal and individual rituals and beliefs and the way in which these rituals and beliefs were used to socialise women and men into acceptable behaviours, whether that be in learning how to access and regulate supernatural potency or the critical importance of following customary procedures and respect practices. Additionally, I argue the paintings also played a role in identity marking, such as paintings of white rhebok, paintings of impala, paintings of specific penis infibulation; signalling individuals, differences between people of different areas, and/or groups of ritual specialists with different functions. The artists had agency, and so do the paintings; the two entangled in a constantly active dialectic. The evidence suggests the paintings were a means to control and channel supernatural potency, people, and animals. A type of sense-making and making-sense of the lifeways of these people. In many ways, the paintings present an ideal, for the practice of ritual specialists, and the practice of communities. My central aim has been to highlight the specific wo/men identities of the research areas and demonstrate their incredibly complex humanity and individual genius in performing their personhood. I hope I have done so.

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Appendix A: Grassland Biome Sub-Divisions of Areas 1 & 2

Adapted from: Mucina & Rutherford (eds) 2006: 363-424.

GRASSLAND SUB-DIVISIONS	AREA 1 Mountain area: Maclear, Barkly East, Lady Grey	MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL	MEAN ANNUAL TEMP	MEAN FROST DAYS	ALTITUDE	COMMON & DOMINANT SPECIES
Drakensberg Grassland	Southern Drakensberg Highland Grassland	779 mm	12.6° C	54 days	1420-2080 m	Tussock grassland and dwarf shrubland. <i>Festuca sp.</i> , <i>Themeda triandra</i> , <i>Heteropogon contortus</i> , <i>Eragrostis racemose</i> , <i>Eragrostis chloromelas</i> , <i>E. curvula</i> , <i>Elionurus muticus</i> , <i>Trachypogon spicatus</i> , <i>Andropogon appendiculatus</i> , <i>Harpochoa falx</i> , <i>Tristachya leucothrix</i> .
	Drakensberg-Amathole	1167 mm	12.2° C	41 days	1900-2600 m	Evergreen shrublands. <i>Passerina</i> , <i>Cliffortia</i> , <i>Erica</i> , <i>Euryops</i> , <i>Helichrysum</i> , <i>Macowania</i> , <i>Protea</i> , <i>Widdringtonia</i> , <i>Ischyrolepsis</i> .
	Afromontane Fynbos	707 mm	9.6° C	96 days	1900-2900 m	Closed short grassland with shrubland. <i>Passerina montana</i> , <i>Chrysocoma ciliate</i> , <i>Pentzia cooperi</i> , <i>Themeda triandra</i> , <i>Festuca caprina</i> , <i>Kniphofia caulescens</i> . <i>Merxmuellera macowanii</i> .
Mesic Highveld Grassland	Senqu Montane Shrubland	687 mm	13.1° C	52 days	1600-1900 m	Open canopy montane shrubland. <i>Rhus erosa</i> , <i>Olea europaea</i> , <i>Diospyros austro-africana</i> , <i>Kiggelaria Africana</i> , <i>Leucosidea sericea</i> , <i>Rhmnus prinoides</i> .
Sub-Escarpment Grassland	Drakensberg Foothill Moist Grassland	887 mm	14.6° C	26 days	880-1860 m	Drier vegetation types, forest, forb-rich grassland dominated by short bunch grasses. <i>Themeda triandra</i> , <i>Tristachya leucothrix</i> .

GRASSLAND SUB-DIVISIONS	AREA 2: Lower-lying areas: Aliwal North, Jamestown, Burgersdorp	MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL	MEAN ANNUAL TEMP	MEAN FROST DAYS	ALTITUDE	COMMON & DOMINANT SPECIES
Drakensberg Grassland	Stormberg Plateau Grassland	543 mm	12.8° C	61 days	1520-1960 m	Grassland, dwarf shrub, and shrubland. <i>Themeda triandra</i> , <i>Eragrostis chloromelas</i> , <i>Elionurus muticus</i> , <i>Karroochloa purpurea</i> , <i>Heteropogon contortus</i> , <i>Eragrostis capensis</i> , <i>Merxmuellera districha</i> , <i>Helictotrichon turgidulum</i> , <i>Felicia Filofolia</i> , <i>Chrysocoma ciliata</i>
	Drakensberg-Amathole	1167 mm	12.2° C	41 days	1900-2600 m	Evergreen shrublands. <i>Passerina</i> , <i>Cliffortia</i> , <i>Erica</i> , <i>Euryops</i> , <i>Helichrysum</i> , <i>Macowania</i> , <i>Protea</i> , <i>Widdringtonia</i> , <i>Ischyrolepsis</i> .
Dry Highveld Grassland	Aliwal North Dry Grassland	510 mm	14.3° C	53 days	1320-1660 m	Open grassland with dwarf karroid shrubs. <i>Themeda triandra</i> , <i>Tetrachne dregei</i> .
Mesic Highveld Grassland	Zastron Moist Grassland	615 mm	14.0° C	52 days	1400-1720 m	Moist open sour grassland. <i>Aloe ferox</i> .

Appendix B: Site and rock art recording forms

1. Site recording form

GENERAL INFORMATION AND NOTES							
Property/ Contact details: Site no:		Env. Damage Fire Water Animal		Surface features: stone walling fallen rock		Site conservation water animals insects people vegetation	
Map no. & GPS River:		Human damage: graffiti vandalism removal		Arch. Deposit		Surface arch: bored stone lithics bedding hearth beads pottery bone	
Recorded by: Date:		Dating? Condition:		Traditions: San KK Historical other		Other:	
Site Type: boulder cave overhang		Aspect: Length Depth Height		Tracing date: Name: Photo no's:			
DESCRIPTION OF SITE, CLUSTERS AND PAINTED CONTEXTS:							

2. Rock art recording form: humans

	HUMANS	Site no:
	Human penis:	
	Human breasts:	
	Human L Buttocks	
	Other?	
	Child	
	Baby	
	Human indeterminate	
	Therianthrope	
	Antelope legs	
	Antelope arms	
	Antelope head	
	Other head	
	Other body	
	Winged	
	Colour:	
	Pigment type:	
	Technique:	
	Layer	
	Breasts drooping	
	Breasts high up	
	Age indeterminate	
	Penis erect:	
	Penis flaccid:	
	Penis infibulated:	
	Massive penis	
	Standing	
	Bent forward:	
	Walking:	
	Running:	
	Sitting:	
	Dancing	
	Kneeling:	
	Lying down:	
	Facing viewer	
	Depicted alone	
	Depicted as two	
	Depicted as three	
	Depicted in row	
	Depicted in semi- circle	
	Depicted in circle	
	Depicted in group	

	Riding horse:
	Front on legs apart:
	Pubic emissions
	Arms straight up:
	Arms forward:
	Arms back:
	Arm 1ofrward 1back
	Arms bent up:
	Arms at side
	Arms 1 forward 1 at side
	Hand to nose:
	Bleeding from nose
	Pointing:
	Clapping:
	Carrying quiver:
	Carrying arrows
	Wearing kaross:
	Wearing apron:
	Flight:
	Eared cap:
	Leg bands:
	Waist bands:
	Arm bands:
	Neck bands
	Head dress:
	Holding arrows:
	Holding bow:
	Holding sticks:
	Holding spear:
	Holding digging stick:
	Holding bag:
	Holding other:
	Polymelia:
	Wearing other:
	Body décor:
	Facial features:
	Shooting with bow & arrow
	Shooting at:
	Touching:
	Entering rock feature:
	Exiting rock feat-ure:
	Painted on top of:
	Painted underneath:
	Painted next to
	Unusual painted context:
	Attenuation:

3. Rock art recording form: animals

	ANIMALS Site no:
	Species:
	Male:
	Female:
	Indeterminate
	Conflation species
	Colour:
	Pigment type:
	Technique:
	Layer
	Age very young
	Age young:
	Age mature:
	Age indeterminate
	Upside down:
	Front on:
	From behind:
	From above:
	Side on
	Tail raised:
	Head down:
	Head up:
	Head level:
	Standing:
	Running:
	Walking:
	Lying down:
	Looking over shoulder
	Looking into rock face
	Looking at viewer
	Depicted in two
	Depicted in three
	Depicted in row
	Depicted in group
	Stand alone
	Body décor
	Bleeding from nose:
	Bleeding on body:
	Sniffing
	Raised hair on back
	Painted above
	Painted underneath:
	Touching other animal:
	Touching human:
	Touching red line:
	Entering rock:
	Exiting rock:
	Polymelia

Appendix C: Results humans AREA 1

1. Indeterminates tall and thin

AREA 1												
	BNN1	BOP1	BUL1	CMP1	CRA2	GSS3	MEL3	POW2 No humans	POW3	SPR3	WAR5	Total
INDETERMINATE	13	59	33	55	50	81	33	0	26	32	16	398
Stick	6	11	1	32	14	23	9		8	7	5	116
Quiver	1	6	1	3	14	8	3		1	4		41
Arrows	1	3	1		9	5	2			1		22
Bow		3	2	12	12	18	7		1	2		57
Other		bag, spear?	bag	spear, bag	5 spears, knobkerrie	weird crescent shaped bag			4 axes, 5 shields	2 fly whisks, feathers?	1 fly whisk	8
Kaross		4				8	3			5		20
Eared cap		2 drawn bow, 2 eared caps	drawn bow									2
Apron				3		1						4
Body decoration		1 stripes on legs, wrist bands & dots on arms, bleeding from nose	knobbed headdress, raised hairs on back, earrings, bleeding from nose			wrist bands/bangles, waist bands, knee bands, karoos figure pointing, long neck	waist bands, thin red line, arm bands, tassels, wrist bands, bleeding from nose		9 top knots	arm bands, waist band, lines on legs, neck bands, spoor on legs, tassels, bleeding from nose, very long arm	knee bands, waist band, arm band, bandolier, detailed faces, feathers in head, shoes?, caps hats?, bleeding from nose	0
Touching	eland						F eland					0

Indeterminates tall and thin continued.

	AREA 1											
	BNN1	BOP1	BUL1	CMP1	CRA2	GSS3	MEL3	POW2 No humans	POW3	SPR3	WAR5	Total
Animals	feline, eland, rhebok	antel, m & f eland, f rhebok, indet ani, feline, female m reedbuck, upside down eland, galloping eland, eland from behind, M eland, snake and running rhebok, under white rhebok, f eland, female rhebok	M&F eland, horse, cattle, moose with teeth, m & f g rhebok	antelope, horse, baboon, eland, feline, m eland	dog/jackal f & m eland, f g rhebok, indet ant, horse, feline	dog/jackal, other rs with penis and without, M eland, rain animal?,	M & F eland, f g rhebok, f m reedbuck, termites, hartebeest?		M & f eland	m eland, indet ant	male eland, female m reedbuck, indet animal	0
People	indet arms straight out fingers splayed	indet, sprinting penis, indet arms up & bent forward, penis, therianthrope, figure lying down, hands to nose, figs arms perpendicular, sprinting fig, sprinting fig eared cap	indet arms bent up, standing, theri, penis, indet arms up, indet bent forward, seated legs open, women with breasts clapping, indet, theri lying down	indet sprinting, indet in row, indet group, bent forward, stand alone arms up, 10 of indet sprinting	indet, indet sprinting, indet sprint	penis bent forward, theri, infib penis, indet arms back, group, running indet, indet group knees up arms back, indet in row, indet group bent forward 1 pointing, arms to nose indet group with penis, row, stand alone running	indet bent forward, theri, indet arms back, penis bent forward, indet touching rhebok, indet pointing, indet arms bent up, indet bent forward seated, indet bent forward hand to nose, indet groups, indet bent right forward, standing with figures clapping, stand alone bent forward	indet group holding axes, row holding shields with top knots, seated indet, indet sprinting, 1 indet seating clapping		stand alone sprinting, bent forward, seated figures in group, bent forward hands to nose in row, penis, theri, indet bent forward, penis bent forward, stand alone walking, bent forward hand to nose, karosses in row 3 with bent forward and seated clapping	row, pointing, arms out, detailed faces	

2. Figures with penis

AREA 1	BNN1	BOP1	BUL1	CMP1	CRA2	GSS3	MEL3	POW2 No humans	POW3	SPR3	WAR5	Total
PENIS		15	1	4	8	16	2			5	2	53
Stick		7	1	3	2	3	2			4		22
Quiver		5				6						11
Arrows		6	1			4				1		12
Bow		8	1		2	7					1?	18
Other		fly whisk		knobkerrie	spear, 2 shields, 2 knobkerries	4 spears				2 bags		5
Kaross												0
Eared cap												0
Apron			1									1
Body decoration		waist band 1, knee band, ankle band,				waist band, spoor on body, waist band, stripes on legs				wrist bands, tassels, waist bands, knee bands, arm bands	knee bands, waist band, crosses or bees on legs and 1 on body, detailed face, shoes? in painting looks like head it changing into that of lion, tassels	0
Infibulation		?				6						6
Touching							F eland			M eland		0

Figures with penis continued

AREA 1	BNN1	BOP1	BUL1	CMP1	CRA2	GSS3	MEL3	POW2 No humans	POW3	SPR3	WAR5	Total
Animals		Antel, M&F eland, indet ani, female rhebok, feline		indet ani	baboon, M & F eland, indet ant, weird ani	other rs, dog/jackal, M eland, f eland, horse	termites, M & F eland, f g rhebok, f m reedbok, snake			male eland, indet antelo	male eland female m reedbuck, indet animal	0
People		penis bent forward, row of figures, penis, therianthrope with penis, figure lying down, hands to nose, front on figure legs apart standing,	penis, therianthrope, indet arms up	stand alone penis	indet running, indet bent forward	penis bent forward, theri, infib penis, indet arms back, group, running indet, stand alone penis, indet group, arms to nose indet,	indet bent forward, theri, indet arms back, penis bent forward, indet touching rhebok			bent forward hands to nose in row, penis, theri, indet bent forward, penis bent forward, touching penis of m eland	bent forward with indet, detailed faces, face changing into feline?, indet arms bent up, with penis	

3. Figures with breasts

AREA 1	BNN1	BOP1	BUL1	CMP1	CRA2	GSS3	MEL3	POW2 No humans	POW3	SPR3	WAR5	Total
BREASTS		1?		4						1?		6
Stick & stone				2								2
Stick				1						1		2
Other							3 possibly 4 clapping figures		3 seated figures possibly clapping, 1 clapping figures	4 seated figures, bag, 3 seated figures, 1 clapping		1
Kaross												0
Eared cap												0
Apron												0
Body decoration		Lines from head		knee bands						spoor? Knee bands waist band		0
Touching												0
Animals			M & F eland, cattle	indet humans?						M eland		0
People				breasts, indet bent over, fine line stand alone aprons								

4. Therianthropes

AREA 1	BNN1	BOP1	BUL1	CMP1	CRA2	GSS3	MEL3	POW2 No humans	POW3	SPR3	WAR5	Total
THERIANTHROPE	2	1	17	2	1	4	3		1	7		38
type	weird black claws?	antelope head	g f rhebok, ant feet & head	antelope head, one weird	one weird	moose head? ant head	clawed hands? weird animal head ant?		strange head	trunk, antelope head, eland head, tusks		0
Stick		1	1			1						3
Quiver						1						1
Arrows						3						3
Bow			1			4						5
Other										7 fly whisks		1
Kaross			1?									0
Eared cap												0
Apron												0
Body decoration			dots/feathered arms, knee bands, waist band			waist band, weird feet?, trance buck, feathers, arrows, lines near head, waist bands, arm bands	Waist band			neck band, waist bands, knee bands, tassels, 1 eland their carrying other on back		0
Touching												0
Animals			M & F eland, moose with teeth, serpent with tusks			M eland, rain animal? f rhebok	f/male eland, indet ant, termites, female rhebok, snake					0
People	penis	penis	penis, therianthrope, indet arms up, indet with kaross			penis, infib penis, indet arms back, group, running indet,	indet bent forward, theri, indet arms back, penis bent forward, indet touching rhebok			carrying another theri on its back, penis bent forward, indet arms back, row & group, theri bent forward, theri way bent forward		

5. Therianthrope with penis

AREA 1	BNN1	BOP1	BUL1	CMP1	CRA2	GSS3	MEL3	POW2 No humans	POW3	SPR3	WAR5	Total
THERIANTHROPE + PENIS			6			2	1			1		10
Type			ant hooves, ant hooves & head, 1 infib penis			ant head, weird feet, horns?	arm hoof			arm hoof		0
Stick			1									1
Quiver			2			2						4
Arrows			3			2						5
Bow			2			2						4
Body decoration			waste bands, knee bands, tassels, detailed faces, arm bands, neck bands, ankle bands			Stripes on legs, waist band, dots on head						0
Touching												0
Animals			M&F eland, moose with teeth			holding drawn bow, rain animal? M eland	f/male eland, indet ant, termites, female rhebok, snake					0
People		indet arms up & bent forward penis				stand alone bent forward					bent forward with indet, detailed faces, face changing into feline?, indet arms bent up, with penis	0

Appendix D: Results humans AREA 2

1. Indeterminates tall and thin

AREA 2											
	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
INDETERMINATE	94	222	54	164	31	75	185	67	55	20	967
Stick	9	33	4	11	5	9	18	11	9	3	112
Quiver	2	20		4	1	5	7	2	3	3	47
Arrows	2	8	1	1		4	4	1	6	3	30
Bow	1	8	1	8	1	3	12	10	8	3	55
Other	6 bags, 3 spears? 1 hockey stick?, 1 mace like , 1 club, flywhisk?	3 spears, 2 bags	2 spears	row of figures no legs or heads, arms out touching each other		2 spears? 1 fly whisk	spear	1 fly whisk	2 shields, 2 clubs, 1 hockey stick?	1 bag, 1 hat?	9
Kaross	2	6				2	5	2	3	2	22
Eared cap		2				?		1	1		4
Apron		7	3								10
Body decoration	wrist bands, arm bands, waist band, feathers in head	waist band, knee band, ankle band, neck band, wrist bands, bleeding from nose, splayed fingers, long neck	stand alone apron, carrying someone on their back holding snake in front	zig-zag on torso, legs zig zags, leg bands, arm bands		arms up, very long neck, tassels from chest, long arms splayed fingers, long neck arms out, black buttocks and penis added, ankle, knee, chest, wrist, waist bands	bleeding from nose, waist band, wrist band, extra long arms, leg bands, knee bands, row of heads 22, lying down, bent forward, arms up, tassels from chest and waist, ante on backs no ant heads, 1 eland on back no human head, attenuation, splayed fingers	very tall 6, arm, wrist, neck, waist, knee bands, detailed faces 2, holding snake or stick, tassels on hat?	arm, waist, knee bands, tassels fanned out from torso 6965, 4 legs, arrows in body x 2 6981, extreme bend forward	4 extremely elongated necks, 1 yellow torso, 1 yellow legs, kaross and heads yellow, leg bands, neck bands, arm bands, waist bands, detailed face?, 1 seated figure, bleeding from nose, hat?	0

Indeterminates tall and thin continued.

	AREA 2										
	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
Touching	indet antelope	arrow, female eland					eland	holding snake?			0
Animals	indet antelope, m eland, bull, baboon, hippo, f eland	feline, upside down female g rhebok, m/f eland, serpent, elephant, rain animal, hippo, indet ani, indet ante	indet ante, female and male eland, feline ante, rhebok female, feline, indet ani, snake, serpent	moose like creature, cows, male & female eland, upside down eland, indet animal, fish, feline, indet ant	indet ani, indet ante, mf eland, geometrics, front aprons painted in dots, bird or loincloth, feline, indet ani painted in dots, one indet ant overpainted with dots		female rhebok, m/f eland, hippo, indet ant, indet ani, feline, lioness, hartebeest? eland with 3 horns, geometrics, front aprons	m/f eland, elephant, indet ani & ante, snake? zebra type ani, hartebeest, ostrich?	m/f eland running and standing, indet ant, feline, 1 eland looking at viewer, female rhebok	eland, weird horse, hippo, eland conflations	0

Indeterminates tall and thin continued.

AREA 2											
	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
People	two rows with hippo/rain animal 2 bent forward, 1 sprinting, bent forward, arms bent up with figure with breasts, group arms bent up, row arms straight out, figure with breasts, bent forward indet, extreme dance postures in group, row with figure with breasts and one seated figure, row indet	indet groups and rows arms up, arms straight out, knee up, bent forward, sprinting, standing, row with penis, theri, large buttocks, breasts	penis arms bent up, running, row arms bent up, standing front on legs apart, group, arms wide open, large buttocks, theri, group standing with spears, with shield, feline antelope, sprinting, stand alone sprinting, indistinct figure with another on its back holding snake	indet arms straight out, indet standing walking sprinting, seated figure arm and knee bent up, groups and rows, theri penis bent forward, row of heads and arms reaching out touching each other-links, rows arms straight out, bent forward, extreme bent forward, rows arms bent up	stand alone sprinting, arms up, arms bent up,	group indet 1 seated figures, breasts, feline theri? vertical row of indet in arc, large penis,indet bent forward next to penis and breasts, group, sprinting, hands to nose, bent forward, knees up and bent forward, arms straight out, rows, extreme bend forward, row arms straight out and bent up, 2 seated	group indet bent forward arms bent up 2 carrying eland? on backs, 2 standing arms straight out, extreme bent forward, theri, breasts, arms wide out, extreme bent forward with dancing sticks, groups and rows, row of heads joined by thick line, stand alone walking, row arms bent up, theri, figures seated clapping, arms back, indet carrying eland arrows in person's body, walking through crack from one side to other arms straight out row, running	arm straight up over head and forward row, rows and groups, knee up, arms bent up, extreme bent forward, stand alone running towards zebra?, 3 detailed faces & bodies	penis & theri walking, breast large buttocks arms straight out, penis bent forward, 3 indet front on knees bent out arms up, bent forward with arrows in body with theri bent forward with arrows in body	2 indet reverse articulated legs? Arms straight out low, seated indeterminate with 2 standing-group, 2 standing 1 may be pointing1 seated, remnants, weird horse hippo eland have red figures painted on top-standing?	

2. Figures with penis

AREA 2	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
PENIS	1	13	9	4	1	20	3	2	2		55
Stick		9	2	2		1	1				15
Quiver		9				4	1				14
Arrows		4				4	1		1		10
Bow		7				5	1	1			14
Other			Shield Sotho?								1
Kaross		4							1		5
Eared cap											0
Apron			back apron								1
Body decoration		waist band, knee band, ankle band, neck band, wrist bands		stripes on torso, wrist bands, waist band		tassels from waist, arms straight out, long neck,	leg band, waist band, knee band, neck band, bleeding from nose, 8 arrows in chest?	arm bands, waist bands	arrows on body, tassels on head, fingers painted, bent forward		0
Infibulation						2	1				3
Touching						ant, m eland, f eland	eland				0
Animals	male elephant	feline, upside down female g rhebok, m/f eland, serpent, elephant, rain animal, hippo, indet ani, indet ante	indet ante, female and male eland, feline ante, rhebok female, feline, indet ani, snake	cows, male & female eland, upside down eland, indet animal, fish, feline, indet ant	male and female eland	M eland, f eland, breasts, large buttocks, indet ant, feline	m/f eland, female rhebok, geometrics, feline		female rhebok		0

Figures with penis continued.

AREA 2	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
People	stand alone	row indet one arm bent up, bent forward figures	indet arms bent up	indet arms straight out, theri, running figures indet, bent forward	with breast standing and breasts sitting holding sticks with bored stones	indet, breasts, sprinting, row bent forward	bleeding from nose, 2 indet standing, indet walking wearing kaross	indet arms straight out and bent up	indet & theri walking, large buttocks, breasts arms straight out, indet bent forward		

3. Figures with breasts

AREA 2	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
BREASTS	2	26			2	8	1		1		40
Stick & stone	1				1	2					4
Stick	1	1				6					8
Other	1 seated figure	1 bag, 7 flywhisks?									2
Kaross						1					1
Eared cap											0
Apron	1	1				1					3
Body decoration	arm bands, waist band	knee bands, waist bands, beads hanging bt buttocks, ankle bands, head doeks with dots				knee & waist band, bent forward, arms up, long neck, arm up pointing?	arms up		arms bent up, knee bands		0
Touching						f rhebok?					0
Animals	M eland, baboon, indet ante, hedgehog?	female eland, male eland, indet antelope, mostly figures, female rhebok some way above				above f eland, f rhebok, lioness theri, feline x 2, penises, m eland, breasts	indet ant, female eland		m/f eland, above female rhebok		0

Figures with breasts continued.

AREA 2	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
People	indeterminate arms bent up, row indet arms bent up one seated	groups & rows arms bent up with figures with large buttocks, indet arms up arms straight out group			with breasts and penis	feline theri? Sprinting figures, indet standing- her arms bent up wearing front apron, stand alone bent forward breasts, breast is bent forward with penis and theri, bent forward indet, theri, breasts with sticks, sprinting figure, breasts row with sticks, theri, sprinting fig, breasts arm up leg up straight	indet arms bent up, arms straight out other large buttocks rows		2 large buttocks arms straight out, indet and penis bent forward group		

4. Indeterminates large buttocks

AREA 2	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
LARGE BUTTOCKS	1	16		2	3	4	14		2		42
Stick & stone					1						1
Stick		2			1						3
Other		4 flywhisks									1
Kaross											0
Eared cap											0
Apron											0
Body decoration	with indet figure & weird fig	waist band, knee band, ankle band, beads hanging bt buttocks, 1 bleeding from nose, head doeks with dots, chest bands broad		arms straight out					arms straight out, knee band, fingers		0
Touching											0
Animals	F eland, indet ant	m/f eland, serpent, figures, indet ante, painted next to front aprons & finger painted geometrics		Indet figures	breasts, f eland, fat tummy arms up?		female rhebok, m/f eland, indet ant, indet ani, feline, lioness, geometrics, front aprons		m/f eland, below m/f eland, feline, above female rhebok		0
People	theri with karosses	groups & rows arms bent up with figures with breasts, indet arms up arms straight out group, indet figure arms wide out, their bent forward	standing front on legs apart, group, arms wide open	indet extreme bent forward and bent forward, large buttocks has arms straight out		penis, bent forward indet, breasts	arms bent up, figures seated clapping, indet, large buttocks arms straight out rows, indet lying down knee up, indet bent forward		Large buttocks and breasts, arms straight out, indet and penis bent forward		

5. Therianthropes

AREA 2	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
THERIANTHROPE	5		13	1	5	3	8	2	4		41
type	Antelope head, hooves		antelope head, ante hooves	weird head, tail	antelope head, hooves?, feline?	antelope head, hooves	antelope heads, reverse articulation legs ant	animal head, human arms, tail? Ante head	antelope head, rhebok head, feline, ant hooves, arm hooves		0
Stick			4		2		3		1		10
Quiver			1				4				5
Arrows			1								1
Bow			1				2		2		5
Other							front apron		bag		2
Kaross							1		2		3
Eared cap											0
Apron											0
Body decoration			splayed fingers		waist & ankle bands, arms sideup, splayed fingers	neck bands, arm bands	arms diff colour, torso diff colour, very tall		holding mace like object		0
Touching					M eland						0
Animals			indet ant, therianthropes, indet figures, indet ani, snake, male & female eland, rhebok		F eland, m eland, feline, breasts,		indet ant, m/f eland, rhebok, figure carrying eland,		m/f eland		0

Therianthropes continued.

AREA 2	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
People	row of 3 large buttocks arms bent up, 1 indet 1 running indet		indet bent forward, theri one leg high up like can-can, 3 theris arms bent up, holding dancing sticks?			indet lying down	extreme bent forward indet, indet arms bent up, their, indet bent forward		indet and penis walking, feline theri? With 2 indet tassels arrows? 1 indet row, bent forward with arrows in body		

6. Therianthrope with penis

AREA 2	DRN2	FLO5	KAP1	FLO7	KPS1	LEL4	LEL7	NIE1	WON2	WON4	TOTAL
THERIANTHROPE + PENIS		1		1	1	1?	1				4
Type		one foot hooved	head		antelope head?	antelope head?	antelope head? Antelope arm				0
Arrows							1				1
Other		spear?									1
Kaross							1				1
Body decoration		lines from arms-feathers? Bleeding from nose, knee band									0
Touching					M eland						0
Animals		male and female eland, serpent-working directly with serpent	indet ant		M eland, feline						0
People		Large buttocks, indet arms bent up, 1 figure strung bow	Site overpainted?	indet bent forward, groups and rows	1 finger painting	breasts with sticks, sprinting figure	fig carrying eland 6821		1 smear	1 smear, is this site overpainted?	0

Appendix E: People associations sites AREA 1 & AREA 2

AREA 1		AREA 2		AREA 1		AREA 2	
INDETERMINATES	100%	INDETERMINATES	100%	FIGURES WITH PENISES	90%	FIGURES WITH PENISES	90%
Indeterminates	100%	Indeterminates	100%	Figures with penises	50%	Figures with penises	30%
arms straight out	70%	arms straight out	90%	bent forward	50%	bent forward	10%
arms bent up	50%	arms bent up	80%	stand alone	20%	stand alone	10%
arms back	40%	arms back	30%	Group	50%	Group	50%
bent forward	70%	bent forward	70%	Rows	10%	Rows	40%
extreme bent forward	50%	extreme bent forward	60%	Indeterminates	70%	Indeterminates	70%
knees up	20%	knees up	40%	Therianthrope	60%	Therianthrope	10%
standing legs open	0%	standing legs open	30%	Therianthrope with penis	30%	Therianthrope with penis	0%
seated legs open	10%	seated legs open	0%			Figures with breasts	40%
sprinting	40%	sprinting	40%			Figures with large buttocks	20%
sitting	20%	sitting	40%				
lying down	10%	lying down	10%				
rows	70%	rows	70%				
groups	60%	groups	80%				
stand alone	40%	stand alone	40%				
pointing	30%	pointing	0%				
hand to nose	40%	hand to nose	30%				
clapping	30%	clapping	10%				
detailed faces	10%	detailed faces	10%				
Rows of heads and torsos	10%	Rows of heads and torsos	20%				
Figures with penises	70%	Figures with penises	70%				
Breasts clapping	10%	Figures with breasts	50%				
Therianthrope	50%	Therianthropes	40%				
		Figures with large buttocks	60%				

People associations continued.

AREA 1		AREA 2		AREA 2	
FIGURES WITH BREASTS	10%	FIGURES WITH BREASTS	60%	FIGURES WITH LARGE BUTTOCKS	70%
Figures with breasts	10%	Figures with breasts	40%	Figures with large buttocks	40%
bent forward		bent forward	10%	arms bent up	30%
arms bent up	10%	arms bent up	40%	arms straight out	40%
arms straight out		arms straight out	40%	Group	10%
Group		Group	30%	Row	50%
Rows	10%	Rows	20%	Indeterminates	60%
Indeterminates	10%	Indeterminates	50%	Figures with penises	20%
Figures with penises		Figures with penises	40%	Figures with breasts	40%
Figures with large buttocks		Figures with large buttocks	40%	Therianthrope	10%
Therianthrope		Therianthrope	10%		

AREA 1		AREA 2	
THERIANTHROPE	50%	THERIANTHROPE	50%
Therianthropes	50%	Therianthropes	10%
bent forward	20%	bent forward	30%
arms bent up	40%	arms bent up	20%
carrying another fig/their	10%	carrying another fig/their	10%
arrows in body	10%	arrows in body	10%
Indeterminates	50%	Indeterminates	40%
Figures with penises	60%	Figures with penises	10%
Figures with breasts	0%	Figures with breasts	10%

People associations continued.

AREA 1		AREA 2	
THERIANTHROPE WITH PENIS	30%	THERIANTHROPE WITH PENIS	30%
Therianthropes with penis	10%	Therianthropes with penis	0%
bent forward	30%	bent forward	10%
arms bent up	20%	arms bent up	20%
Indeterminates	20%	Indeterminates	30%
Figures with penises	20%	Figures with penises	0%
Figures with breasts	0%	Figures with breasts	10%
Figures with large buttocks	0%	Figures with large buttocks	10%